

Industrial Worker

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EDUCATION

ORGANIZATION

EMANCIPATION

Union membership collapses in UK

Union membership in the UK fell to 7,940,000 at the end of 1997, the lowest level of membership since 1945, according to government figures. This was the 17th annual decline in union numbers, which are now 40 percent below the peak of over 13 million in 1979.

The figures give no cause for optimism. After the election of the Tory Government in 1979 a vicious recession set in which saw unemployment leap and union membership in the industrial sectors most affected by the recession take a dive. However, union membership still fell in subsequent economic recoveries and now stands at 30% of the working population.

Union membership in the public sector has held up well despite the recession, and stands at around 60% of potential, but in the private sector is down to 20% and still appears to be falling. There is a lot of variation with hotels only 5% organised and energy supply 60% organised, however a culture of non-unionism is rife in many sectors with workplaces of 25 employees or less being almost union-free.

The level of strike action has also fallen, and is now at an all-time low even when compared to Victorian times. The union movement is definitely on the defensive and is hoping that the Labour Government can rescue it from a debacle of its own making by introducing an NLRB-type system for union recognition.

Unions have had a number of chances to turn around the decline in membership by actually backing up workers in struggle. However, in dispute after dispute the level of solidarity shown by union leaders to strikers has been negligible. In 1984-5 the miners were roundly defeated mostly because of the lack of solidarity at home. The defeat of the dockers, workers at Hillingdon Hospital in London and the Magnet workers in the North East of England have all given the impression of a weak and divided union movement unable to look after its own.

The IWW of course stands full square against this culture of divide and defeat and is beginning to build small but not insignificant footholds in industry. The prospects for industrial unionism this side of the Atlantic have never been better – it's up to us to make sure our organisation expands and challenges the "I surrender" notions of the trade union bosses with the "I Will Win" notions of the Wobblies.



In This Issue...

Education: How to win in tough times

Still fighting in Detroit

No new jobs at UPS

Comics Unite in IWW

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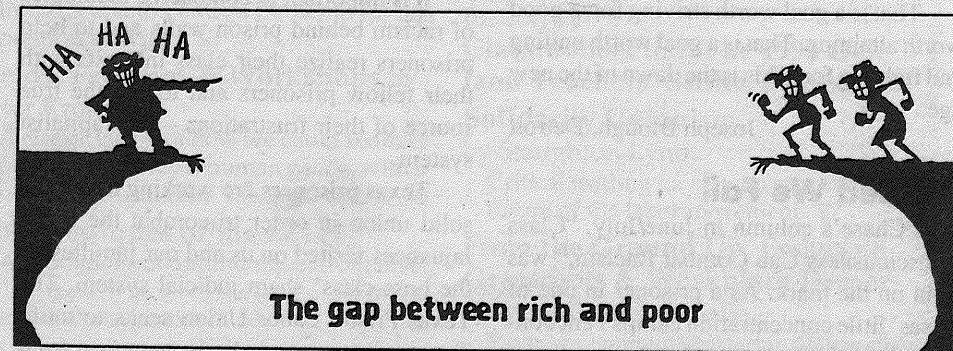
Sedro Woolley builders go IWW

Fed up with low wages and unsafe working conditions, workers at Skagit Pacific – a modular housing manufacturing facility in Sedro Woolley, Washington – are organizing a branch of the IWW's Building Construction Workers Industrial Union 330. The plant employs some 120 workers.

Many Skagit Pacific workers traveled to Sedro Woolley from other towns, responding to management promises of good money. Upon showing up, workers find that not only is the company scale about a third of the industry standard for union wages, but Skagit will not pay workers their own promised wage scale. When pressed to hold up their end of the deal, Skagit calls this a "raise."

Benefits are non-existent, though management promised workers at a recent captive meeting that they were looking for a benefits package, but were looking for the "best deal." So far nothing has materialized, except that they "are working on it." Workers make as little as \$6.50 per hour, although management gave the leads a modest wage increase to try to divide the workforce and foment jealousy. All of management, of course, already has a benefits program.

Safety conditions are unspeakable. IWW members staged a short work stoppage for 45 minutes when the boss made workers clean out a backed-up sewage pipe without protective gear. Nearby workers were vomiting from the stench. Masks for dust and chemicals were not provided for months, and were reluctantly given out when the shipment did finally arrive. Straps used for hoisting and moving are near the breaking point. Ventilation is not adequate, and tem-



peratures inside the building were reaching 120 degrees during the recent hot weather.

Sedro Woolley was once a booming logging economy. Timber companies that were unable to manage resources shut down throughout the '70s and '80s, leaving workers to survive in the '90s in a growing tourist and service industry economy. Skagit Valley is also an agricultural base in Western Washington state, meaning that jobs are even more scarce after the summer months.

Skagit Pacific saw the opportunity to take advantage of people who were having trouble making ends meet, and continues to use the threat of unemployment to scare workers away from the union. What man-

agement doesn't want anyone to know is that the union will help preserve employment and keep the company from siphoning the wealth out of Skagit Valley – it will put wealth into the pockets of those who work there.

Skagit workers have organized the Sedro Woolley Construction Workers Industrial Union Branch, and petitioned the IWW's General Executive Board for an Industrial Union Branch charter. It is the first IWW-affiliated union in Skagit County since the early 1920s. Workers are meeting weekly and building shop floor solidarity.

A widespread rumor says that Skagit
continued on page 7

Defeat for telephone workers?

The two unions representing Puerto Rican telephone workers suspended their 40-day strike July 28 after tumultuous assemblies where many workers challenged union officials' decision to return to work.

Not only is privatization of the phone company moving ahead, but warnings have been placed in strikers' personnel files (to be removed only after six months), police are stationed at work sites, and pending criminal charges have not been withdrawn. While the sale to GTE is proceeding despite a competing offer from a Spanish firm that offered \$190 million more, the unions have agreed to keep a "respectful attitude" and promote greater efficiency.

Many workers were outraged by the accord, which was pushed through without a vote. A new organization, Telephone workers against Privatization, has emerged to resume the struggle. They accuse Independent Union of Telephone Employees president José Hernández of selling out the strike and of betraying the workers in all sectors who had supported them.

Some have suggested that workers are carrying the strike onto the job, and warned of one-day strikes and other actions if the government does not agree to a referendum on the privatization. Indeed, several hundred workers briefly wildcatted on their first day back at work, outraged by the repressive atmosphere they were expected to work in.

General Strike

Much of Puerto Rico was brought to a stand-still July 7 and 8 in a 48-hour general strike called by a broad coalition of labor and community organizations in support of the telephone workers. Some 200,000 work-

ers joined the strike.

Hundreds of businesses, including all the major shopping malls and the country's largest bank, Banco Popular (a partner in the privatization scheme), shut down for the strike recognizing that business as usual would be impossible.

A particularly tense situation developed July 7 as members of the Teamsters Union, the Industrial Workers Union, the Aqueduct and Sewers Workers Union and other syndicates successfully blocked the entrance to the international airport for several hours, causing the cancellation of dozens of flights.

Hundreds of police had occupied the area the night before. So the picketlines were set up outside the police perimeter, causing traffic to back up for several kilometers in all directions – closing off access not only to the airport, but also to commuters entering San Juan from the East.

After a three-hour stand-off between pickets and riot police, union leaders reached an agreement to clear two lanes for traffic

after the police were withdrawn.

The "People's Strike Against Privatization" concluded with a massive rally at the Puerto Rico Telephone Company's main offices. Thousands of workers marched, blocking traffic for several blocks, while diverse musical performers, from traditional to rock music, provided entertainment.

The president of the Independent Brotherhood of Telephone Employees said the general strike was "a complete success. We have achieved our objective of paralysing the country and established a historical precedent." But officials of both unions began discussing a return to work almost immediately after the general strike ended.

While workers waged a determined fight, the government's refusal to negotiate the privatization left unions with few alternatives to surrender other than a determined fight to bring the government down through industrial action – something they have thus far lacked the organization and determination to attempt.

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Dawn of the new age...

The bosses would have us believe theirs is a fragile system, in which shortening the work day would be tampering irreparably with their control over society.

There are alternatives to what they offer. If the work gets done and quality reigns, and more workers share in the fruits of their labor, then that is a better set-up.

That is a goal worth striving for, a good worth attaining. That is a goal worth uniting and fighting for. This is the dawn of the new age.

Joseph Blough, Detroit

Divided We Fall

Fred Chase's column in June/July, "Class Consciousness Can Combat Racism," was right on the mark. As a prisoner in one of Texas' little concentration camps I encounter a lot of prisoners who harbor racist attitudes, including those who espouse Nazi ideology. As Fred says, economic conditions do foster frustrations in white working-class folks, and these frustrations are even more intensified behind prison walls.

The harsher the institutional regimen, the more prisoner-on-prisoner violence, the more intense are racial divisions among prisoners. These conditions are fertile recruiting fields for fascist hate groups, and the spread of their racist ideologies causes prisoners to remain divided and easily managed by prisoncrats. Prisoncrats capitalize

Readers' Soapbox

on the racial conflicts while feigning a posture of anti-racism. In fact, Texas guards have to go to seminars in order to learn how to exploit racial conflict to maintain prison order.

It is important to combat the ideologies of racism behind prison walls and to help prisoners realize their class interests with their fellow prisoners and to see the true source of their frustrations – the capitalist system.

Texas prisoners are working to build a solid union in order to combat the many injustices visited on us and our families by the boss class' sham judicial system. The Texas Prison Labor Union seeks to unify Texas prisoners and eliminate racism from our ranks. We also aim to build solidarity with groups in the community who are sick of the effects of prison expansion and imprisonment on the social fabric. Tired of watching tax dollars go to build more prisons at the expense of education funding and fed up with the myriad human rights abuses that occur in these institutions.

We also seek to redirect the anger caused by confinement away from one another and to utilize that anger in a fightback to gain Texas prisoners and their families the dignity they are due.

TPLU was started by two prisoners, Ricky Long and Willie Milton; we also now have an officer on the outside (Dwight Rawlinson, TPLU, 2121 South 4th St., Waco TX 76706) and many prisoners throughout the system. Dwight Rawlinson is doing his best to coordinate matters, but with 150,000 prisoners he is a bit overwhelmed.

I'm asking any Wobs, especially those in the Texas area, to lend a hand to help us bring this union together. This is a historic opportunity to fight racism and build class consciousness and awareness within and without these prison walls.

In Solidarity,
Kevin Glover #526379
Huntsville Unit PO Box 32
Huntsville TX 77342-0099

Industrial Worker Sustaining Fund

Tom Johnson & Barbara Briggs, Newmarket NH	\$15.00
Will Thomas, Auburn NH	5.00
Bob Heald, Montpelier VT	50.00
James Webb, Arvada CO	10.00
Jack Lewis, Westbank BC Canada	5.00
Jens Eriksson, Vasteras Sweden	5.00
David Leighton, Cleveland OH	5.00
Ron Yengich, Salt Lake City UT	15.00
Eugene Clark, Merlin OR	5.00
McArthur Gunter, Camp Springs MD	18.56
Michael Johnston, Rockford MI	10.00

Utah Phillips Solidarity Fund

William S. Camwell, Kurtistown HI \$20

Many thanks, fellow workers, for your generous support.

IWW FIGHTING FUND

We are well on our way to raising \$5,000 by Dec. 30 to get the IWW in fighting trim to meet the expense of responding to the growing number of requests for information and IWW literature, printing and distributing this paper, and eliminating the union's operating deficit. But we need your help to meet our goal. Perhaps your branch can organize a benefit?

Received in last two months:

Noam Chomsky, Cambridge MA	\$200
David Zeff, Daly City CA	10
in honor of Utah Phillips	
Jens Eriksson, Vasteras Sweden	5
Boston General Membership Branch	729
(from Howard Zinn benefit lecture)	
Ruth Sheridan, Anchorage AK	10
Total Raised to Date:	\$1,828

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IU 120: Lumber Workers
IU 330: Building Construction Workers
IU 450: Print & Publishing House Workers
IU 460: Food Processing Workers
IU 510: Marine Transport Workers
IU 560: Communications Workers
IU 610: Health Service Workers
IU 620: Education Workers
IU 630: Entertainment Workers
IU 640: Restaurant & Hotel Workers

Industrial Worker

THE VOICE OF REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

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IU 660: General Distribution Workers
IU 670: Public Service Workers
Job Branch= 5 or more members in work-
place; GMB=General Membership Branch;
IU=Industrial Union; Del=Delegate; GOC=
Organizing Committee.

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Harvest grocery workers go IWW

Workers at Manitoba's Harvest Collective Inc. have joined the IWW, and filed a petition for union certification with the Manitoba Labour Relations Board July 16. Harvest operates two organic grocery stores in Winnipeg. Most of its 26 workers are paid minimum wage, and work part-time schedules that keep them in grinding poverty.

Although Manitoba law requires a vote on certification within 10 days of filing, the Board postponed the election indefinitely (for the first time since new anti-labour legislation was adopted two years ago) when management claimed the IWW was not a union under the terms of the Labour Relations Act. Faced with an endless stream of demands for paperwork, the Manitoba General Membership Branch withdrew its petition for certification August 11.

Workers plan to resubmit their petition in September in the name of the Harvest Collective Branch, General Distribution Workers Industrial Union 660 (IWW), newly chartered by the General Executive Board at the workers' request. In the interim, they are working at bringing membership up to 100 percent of the workforce.

Wobs take over Masonic lodge

A group of Wobblies set up a radical book table directly in front of the former Okemah (Oklahoma) Masonic Lodge July 18th during the Woody Guthrie First Annual Free Folk Arts Festival.

The group covered the cornerstone marker with an OBU sign as a poetic statement of revolt against all that the so-called benevolent order stands for and its role in the creation of the Ku Klux Klan (See *White Terror* by R. Trelease), who were the death squads and agents of repression during the nationwide WWI-era campaign against all things non-white (sic.), Christian, capitalist and pro-war (in particular, the Oklahoma Wobblies). For six hours we handed out pamphlets on the OBU, sold books, and had a free speech suitcase filled with free zines, flyers and copies of the *IW*. Both Friday and Saturday nights we set up at the festival site for some more fanning of the flames.

That morning a building was spotted directly across the street from the Lodge with a 'Woody Was No Hero' poster on it. Immediately the building was 'Condemned!' by a silent agitator sticker with a quote from the surrealist, Lautremont. It read: "the brilliant past has made promises to the brilliant future; it will keep them."

PREAMBLE TO THE IWW CONSTITUTION

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. **Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.**

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system." **It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.** The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Around Our Union

The building is owned by Allison Kelly, president of the Citizens National Bank of Okemah. Kelly is known for anti-communist views and his opposition to the recent recognition of Woody by his hometown. The Kelly banking family is notorious in the region for buying up thousands of acres from the red dirt farmers during the Depression (for pennies on the dollar) and foreclosing on many of the Okies, forcing them horribly westward.

Wobbly and author Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz gave an hour long reading from her book *Red Dirt: Growing Up Okie* in the West Room of the former Masonic lodge, giving back to many Oklahomans a past they either never knew or has been a long time forgotten. She included tales of the Green Corn Rebellion, the 1917 armed uprising in southeastern Oklahoma by members of the Working Class Union to overthrow the U.S. government, and how the Masons and the Klan were one unified body in Oklahoma and all around the country at that time. (Woody's father was an example of the collusion between the Klan and the Masons, being a member of both fraternities. Later in life, Woody would organize "rifle drills" in the swamps of Florida due to threats by the Klan against a friend who had infiltrated the group and wrote an expose — see *Woody Guthrie: A Life* by Joe Klein).

Fellow worker Roxanne (sporting the red and the black) also read from her book at the unveiling of the memorial for Woody, sculpted by native Okemah Dan Brook who is Muskogee Indian. The statue is life-sized and when casting is completed "this machine kills fascists" will adorn his guitar just as it did Woody's.

The Wobblies were greeted with enthusiasm by many, scorn by some. All the pamphlets on the OBU were gone in a few hours. The table attracted punks, Dust Bowl Okies, childhood friends of Woody's, the head of the Oklahoma Communist Party, the mayor of Okemah, three deputies, etc.

The festival was great. Music was performed by the Red Dirt Rangers, Tom Skinner, Billy Bragg, Arlo Guthrie, Peter Keane, Ray Wylie Hubbard, Tom Paxton, Joel



Minneapolis-St. Paul IWW and friends picketing a Minneapolis McDonald's July 12 in support of fired union organizers. photo by FW Kyle Just

Day of Action hits McDonalds

On July 12th, the Minneapolis/St. Paul GMB sponsored a rally at a McDonald's in Uptown Minneapolis. Forty to 50 picketers showed up and discussed the issues with patrons, passersby and workers.

One worker came out and thanked us for showing up and has shown some interest in joining the One Big Union. Some people from Food Not Bombs showed up and served food. Members of Earth First! provided us with a sign depicting Ronald McDonald being smashed with a fist saying, "Down With The Clown." A ton of lit got out and

Rapheal, Ellis Paul, the great Jimmy Lafavre, and native Okemah Kevin Welch, as well as a Woody-worshipping band from Austria that call themselves "Okemah."

Despite the useless police presence (five cars prowling around the site where about 150 people sat lounging in lawn chairs listening to folk music) there were no arrests. The Wobblies did have two confrontations with the law. A FW was given the third degree by a group of Okemah Junior Sheriffs, but was not strung-up or tarred and feathered (as Wobblies were in 1917).

Next year's event starts July 14th and runs through the weekend and should be a free event. The line-up already includes Rambling Jack Elliot, Joan Baez, Country Joe, plus many more. We hope for a massive turnout of radicals from all over the country to come down, up or over to celebrate the short life and undying works of Woody Guthrie.

X346673

Long Island IWW

The Long Island (New York) IWW group has initiated a Strike Watch program to identify strikes in the region and offer support and solidarity. They are also preparing a campaign targeting Borders, Barnes & Noble and other corporate giants, and a series of leaflets, speakers and films.

IWW Nominations Due

Nominations are due for the positions of IWW General Secretary-Treasurer, General Executive Board (7 positions), Industrial Worker editor and Conflict Mediation Committee. Any IWW member in good standing is entitled to nominate. Qualifications (12 to 18 months continuous good standing, two to three years membership, depending upon position) are detailed in the IWW Constitution.

Nominations can be made on the floor of the General Assembly in Portland September 6th, or sent to IWW headquarters in Ypsilanti in advance (but should be received by Sept. 2nd). Branches interested in hosting the General Assembly should also submit their proposals by that date.

even some positive press coverage on the local 10 o'clock news.

This national day of action was called by Bryan Drapp and Jamal Nickens, two McDonald's workers who were fired after trying to organize a union over the constant mistreatment and humiliation of workers, courtesy of management.

— Andy Gifford, X346214

Across the South

Wobblies picketed and leafleted McDonald's outlets in several cities July 12 and 13 in solidarity with workers who have been fired and harassed by the fast food chain in order to intimidate workers from exercising their rights to unionize.

In Macedonia, Ohio, where the dispute began, fired union activist Jamal Nickens reports that hardly anyone crossed their picket line. "It was sweet to see the cars pull into McDonald's and turn right around." Workers were told that if they joined the line after their shifts they would be fired.

In Louisville, Kentucky, Wobs leafleted two McD's July 12. In Gainesville, Florida, a dozen people joined the picketline including a girl dressed up as a satanic Ronald McDonald — she drew a lot of interest with her wild antics. Signs read "Did Somebody Say Union?" "McDonald's-Bad Food, Poor Folks, No Fun" "Boycott McDonald's — illegally fired McD's workers" "Stop Union-Busting at McDonald's" etc.

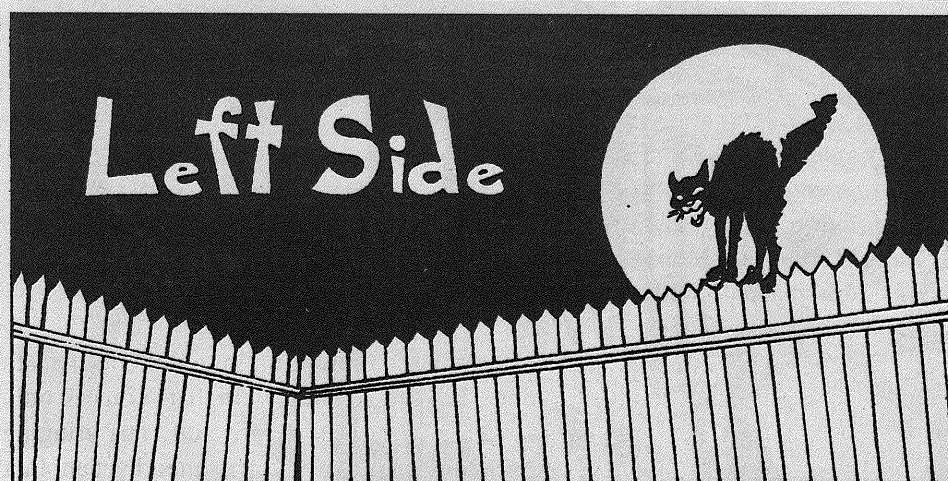
Four carloads of would-be customers turned away when they read our signs, and people from other unions such as the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers lent their support as well.

Ten folks turned out in Atlanta, including activists from the local Labor Solidarity Network. Several hundred leaflets were distributed, including several to employees. Interestingly, one was handed unbeknownst to a local right-wing talk show host. He contacted us to do two hours of call-in, and seemed to be highly offended when no one was able to devote their evening to him.

An informational picket of the "McDonald's Managers Roadshow" was also held July 19 at the Hyatt Regency hotel in downtown Atlanta. The show was brought to the attention of the IWW by a trade unionist working on the show's installation. About a dozen people participated. Hotel management called the police, who refused to intervene as the picket was entirely legal. Leaflets were handed out, and some contacts made which will be followed up.

In Tallahassee, Florida, leafletters found the McDonald's was pretty dead, so they plastered the street with leaflets for future customers.

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Located in Los Angeles, California, is a most unique establishment, the Center for the Study of Political Graphics. It is an archive of all varieties of posters and other ephemeral devices designed to capture the attention of the casual viewer, alerting them to important issues of the day in the hopes of causing the casual viewer to take a positive stand.

This archive of over thirty thousand items produced in an amazing variety of visual styles and printing techniques expressing ideas not ordinarily presented by the conventional mass media. There are examples from the turn of the century, through the Russian Revolution and the turbulent sixties and seventies, up to the present. The issues covered include union struggles, minority rights, anti-war, alternate sexual lifestyles, liberation struggles of colonial peoples, environmental concerns and many others that are blithely ignored by the boss press.

This collection includes not only examples from Freedomland, but from around the entire world. Poster making has been a long and hallowed means of communication on the part of those who do not have access to the conventional media of mass communication. It has been said that freedom of the press is available to those who have a press. The overwhelming output of the collection in this archive has been produced by people who made do with whatever technology they had at hand and with whatever quality of material these impressions could be printed on.

These works were produced for the moment and the issues at hand, rather than for posterity or immortality. Far from intending to produce deathless works, the obvious intent was to call attention to immediate issues in the hopes of stimulating prompt reaction on the part of the viewers. That some examples from the past have become collectors items, housed in prestigious galleries and museums or in the confines of the affluent connoisseurs, is indicative of the ongoing process of history. Works by Francisco Goya, who was retained by parasitic royalty, and Kaethe Kollwitz and her fellow German expressionists are just two examples of that process.

Some of the greatest names in art history have concerned themselves with social issues, and insofar as art has not been the sole provenance of the immortals, many nameless artists have made their contribution to the rich culture of the human race. The IWW had been a prodigious producer of such art, not only posters but their microcosmic equivalent – the silent agitators that are still popular among readers of this periodical.

The Center for the Study of Political Graphics is a nonprofit tax-exempt educational archive that collects, preserves, documents and exhibits domestic and international posters relating to historical and contemporary movements for peace and social justice. It is the only major archive in this country dedicated to both preserving and continually exhibiting such a rich visual heritage to a wide and diverse audience, serving as a resource for artists, scholars, students, activists, filmmakers, playwrights and what have you. University and museum collections of materials such as these are rare, and those that do exist are seldom if at all accessible to the general public.

The Center is committed to continually exhibiting this rich visual and social history, and has put on numerous exhibits usually focusing on specific themes such as women's rights, anti-discrimination, the conflicts in Central America, and more recently the United Farm Workers' movement. The Center has also been making annual awards to those they consider the outstanding graphic artist of the year, designated as the "Art is a Hammer" award.

In June the "Art is a Hammer" award was presented to the IWW's Carlos Cortez, whose posters of Joe Hill, Mother Jones, Lucy Parsons and Ben Fletcher have long been familiar to readers of the *Industrial Worker* and who incidentally created the poster of Cesar Chavez which was used as the signature poster for the Center's exhibition on the United Farm Workers' union. He is also credited with being the only Wob who has been exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.

The Center also issues the "Historian of the Lions" award for literary achievement, the name of which is derived from an African proverb, "Until the lions have their historians, tales of hunting will always glorify the hunter," and the culture of liberation award.

Your scribe has had but a fleeting glimpse of this vast archive of social history that is conveniently ignored by the conventional "historians" and is a priceless treasure deserving your attention and support. Those of you old-timers who may be holding on to some precious relic of bygone struggles and are concerned that in the future they might be consigned to the dustbin, as well as you younger bloods who can't find room for those old movement posters, the Center for the Study of Political Graphics is a place to ensure their preservation. The address is: 8124 West Third St. #211, The Peace Building, Los Angeles CA 90048-4309 (phone 323/653-4662).

This is an institution of which there are far too few, and which it is hoped will be emulated in other places. Silent agitators are great when the noisy ones are not around!

— C.C. Redcloud

Friends of Labor

That great friend-o-labor Phil Knight wrote the other day to fill me in on his commitment to improving the conditions of his wage slaves in China, Indonesia, and Vietnam. He includes a speech in which he laments the necessity of fleeing from country to country in search of cheaper wages. Were Nike to pay the extravagant demands of U.S. wage slaves, Knight says, they'd have to raise the price of the shoes by \$100 a pair! Who would've thunk it?

Phil Knight says he has "an emotional partnership [with] our factories," so Nike takes the managers with them as they jump from country to country. The wage slaves, of course, get left behind...

Meanwhile, the National Labor Committee (275 Seventh Ave. 15th floor, New York 10001) is asking Nike and Wal-Mart to disclose the addresses of their overseas sweatshops, so it can visit the workers and investigate conditions. Wal-Mart drapes its stores in the American flag, and manufactures products in more than 50 countries around the world. Wal-Mart's Code of Conduct (which it claims protects workers) urges manufacturers not to make 14- and 15-year-olds work more than 60 hours a week. In Nicaragua, Wal-Mart workers put in 12-hour days for 23 cents an hour. In China,

workers put in up to 84 hours a week making "Kathie Lee" handbags for 12 1/2 cents an hour (when the boss gets around to paying). Workers in these plants are organizing for pay hikes to enable them to feed their families once or twice a day.

Arbitration? Just Say No

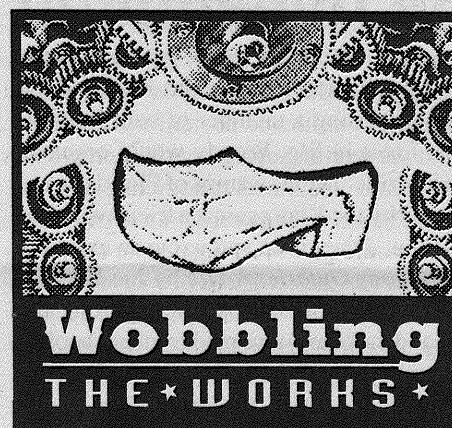
The July issue of the ILWU's *Dispatcher* features recollections of working copra. One worker tells of a wildcat called when Cargill insisted on scheduling folks to work on their days off. After ten days Cargill agreed to mend their ways, but refused to let the chief steward back.

They went to arbitration and lost. "He said ... it was my responsibility to defend the company and order people back to work. Well, who the hell is gonna do that?" Who, indeed? Arbitrators have no place deciding our conditions, but too many unions let them in the door because it's easier than putting up a fight.

Getting the Goods

The bosses are rampaging across the planet, profiting off our fellow workers' misery and despair. While IWW membership has doubled in the past few years, we still have a ways to go before we can bring them to heel. Direct action and One Big Union Solidarity. That's the ticket. Are you with us?

Fighting sexual harassment



As a woman working in a predominantly male industry, printing, the topic of sexual harassment comes up regularly with co-workers, both male and female. This column I'll devote to some examples of what the American courts now determine to be sexual harassment, what remedies they offer, and what we can do about it.

At the first shop I worked in, I was the only woman running a press or doing traditionally "male work." I was hired in November and everything went smoothly for the first two months. Then the calendar came. To enhance their reputation with the guys, a lot of printing supply houses make these famous-through-the-industry calendars with naked ladies sprawled on top of printing machinery. Yeah, right – like I'm going to get naked on top of a Hamada 770, but I digress...

Most of the guys really liked the calendar. The other two women in the shop and I thought it was stupid and took exception to being likened to Ms. July, who clearly knew nothing about operating an Itek platemaker. Our typesetter, a sympathetic guy, thought of a solution that we liked – he took a bunch of magazines, found eyes and lips and ears way out of proportion to the models, and glued them on top of the original. The end creation looked more like a voluptuous printing alien ready to destroy her pressman prey than the intended wet dream. The calendar disappeared shortly after and never returned in subsequent years. That's probably because we sent a particularly well-done month to the supply house that made it.

But was it "sexual harassment?"

Sexual harassment is one of the most complicated areas of American employment law. Two federal laws address sexual harassment: Title VII of the Civil Rights

Act of 1964 led to the definition of sexual harassment as "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature." The Civil Rights Act of 1991 said victims of sexual harassment could sue for pain and suffering awards in addition to back pay.

These laws are enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which has the authority to bring cease-and-desist orders and to sue in federal court employers guilty of workplace discrimination. Sexual harassment issues are additionally addressed in state and local laws, which may offer more or less protection than the federal laws.

There are two types of sexual harassment, "quid-pro-quo" (Latin for "this for that") and "hostile environment."

Quid-pro-quo applies when the boss makes sex a prerequisite to getting something in the workplace. For example: "Sleep with me and you'll get the job (or a raise)." That's illegal. It also includes threats: "Sleep with me or you're fired" is also illegal.

Hostile environment harassment is a situation in which the employer (or a supervisor or co-worker) does or says things that make the victim feel uncomfortable because of his or her sex.

Often quid-pro-quo cases also include hostile environment charges. For either or both kinds of sexual harassment, the legal possibilities are the same. Victims of sexual harassment can recover for their lost wages, future lost wages while looking for new work, emotional distress, punitive damages (which show a jury's contempt for an action), and attorney's fees. If someone quit or was fired because of sexual harassment they might also get their job back.

However, there are caps on damages in the Federal law. For example, a worker from a workplace with more than 500 workers can recover no more than \$300,000 (this amount includes a total of backpay, lawyer's fees, punitive and compensatory damages) in a sexual harassment lawsuit. The cap gets lower when the boss' domain is lower: \$200,000 maximum for workplaces with 201-500 employees, \$100,000 maximum for 101-200 employees, \$50,000 maximum for 16-100 employees. Workplaces with less than 15 employees are not covered at all by Title VII, but might be covered by state

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America@Work Blinders

Despite the flashy, psychedelic colors in its pages, *America@Work* can still manage to keep its readers in the dark.

Look through the pages of the July 1998 issue and you will not find a word that Richard Bensinger, director of the AFL-CIO Organizing Department, was fired because apparently President John Sweeney and some unnamed international union presidents were dissatisfied with his performance. Most of us got this startling information from the business-controlled media, which put its own spin on the event.

Aren't we entitled to know the details of the abrupt Bensinger firing, especially since it is a clear indication that the \$20 million organizing campaign, which the federation leadership launched with such fanfare three years ago, is in serious trouble? Shouldn't we be given an explanation of what the problems are and what the AFL-CIO's Organizing Committee plans to do about it?

In the same issue, Brother Sweeney's regular column, "Out Front," contains an up-beat description of the June 24 nationwide union demonstrations in more than 70 locations. But he offers no mention of the Bensinger firing, nor does he give us a clue of where the organizing campaign stands or what happens next.

If the organizing campaign has problems, why shouldn't we be told about them? How can an organizing campaign be successful if it doesn't trust union members with the truth?

The magazine's editors did not think the General Motors strike sufficiently newsworthy to publish a feature describing the issues in this life-and-death struggle of the auto workers. Instead it took this inappropriate time to devote better than a third of a page to promoting a listing of the autos manufactured in the United States, including those of General Motors.

In the editorial world of *America@Work*, AFL-CIO leaders can do no wrong; they never make mistakes or suffer embarrassments and, of course, there are no defeats. The only views that appear in its pages are the official ones, even if they are questionable and at least worthy of debate. Controversy doesn't exist; no mention of issues that are troubling union leaders and their members. It's all upbeat, cheerful and comfortable. There are always a couple of letters to say how wonderful the magazine is, but when have you seen a really critical one?

Isn't it time we had an official AFL-CIO publication that will level with us?

— Harry Kelber

The Challenge: Rethinking the IWW into the millennium

In this day and age of mammoth technical development, those who produce the goods and services are finding a growing deterioration in their conditions of living.

The growth of the sweatshops with working people toiling long hours for little pay, they wonder where their place is in this new age of global economics. The long haul truck drivers far away from home and pushed to drive past the point of exhaustion, they wonder when they will reap the rewards of their sacrifice. The steel workers, shipyard workers, lumber jacks and mill wrights hear the words of economic progress and wonder why their jobs moved away.

The minimum wage workers trying to survive wonder when the prosperity will reach them. The injured and sickened workers wonder why there is no technology applied to their health and safety. The workers in medical plans where doctors are rewarded for denying treatment wonder where are the great medical advances. The homeless workers, thrown out of their jobs and homes, wonder who is benefiting from this new age as they sleep out in the rain. All those who can see the ecological destruction all around them wonder, at what cost will we all be forced to pay for progress?

Whereas, the employing class are expanding their control and wealth in the globalization of economics, pushed along by trade agreements and international institutions such as the World Bank.

Whereas, this globalization is opening up cheaper sources of labor, previously unavailable natural resources and new marketplaces.

Whereas, the ability of traditional organized labor is steadfastly becoming weaker because of anti-labor laws, SLAPP suits, repressive governments and labor's inability to meet the globalization of economics with international action.

Therefore, a new labor movement must be created.

Rethinking the Industrial Workers of the World

When the IWW was founded in 1905, it was the direct result of the evolution of workers' experiences. The IWW's purpose was to organize workers to their greatest possible strength. They understood that there

has been a continuous struggle between the employing class, out to achieve the greatest possible wealth and power for themselves, and the working class, out to improve their economic and social conditions.

They sought to create an organization that would give working people the power to improve their daily lives, and at the same time organize the working class to the point that this power would be greater than the organized power of the employing class, and at that point seize the means of production and put an end to class conflict forever.

To accomplish this they know that such an organization had to include all workers, regardless of race, sex, ethnic origins, religion or any other of the divisions among working people.

This organization had to be an international organization that could meet the international employing class on the level in which it existed.

Such an organization must be able to use the most effective labor weapons available, industrial solidarity and direct action at the point of production.

Universal solidarity had to be practiced making an injury to one an injury to all. No union worker would supply or service a struck job, no union worker would handle scab products, no union worker would do the work of striking workers, no union worker would ever cross a picket line. And if it became necessary, a strike in any part of an industry would become an industry-wide strike. If the government intervened to repress the industrial strike, then that strike would become a general strike.

The IWW also understood that if the working class was to organize its power for the sake of its own interest, then the working class had to have direct control over their organization. This meant that there would be no professional class of union officials, no alliances with political parties or other outside organizations that sought control over the union, and that it had to resist the government's attempts to contain the organized power of the working class.

In the history of working-class organizations, the IWW's ideas are the most advanced concepts ever developed.

Whereas, those who sought to advance

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A FEW WEEKS BACK I received an email from a group of folks in Quebec who have been responsible for some pretty creative demonstrations up there. A notable one was a banquet for poor folks. Demonstrators went into a fancy restaurant and confiscated large portions of the buffet, taking it to the streets where a busload of homeless folks arrived to sample the cuisine. There were a few arrests; but a good time was had by all and some people who usually have to scramble for castoff food ate one meal like royalty. The demonstration also generated sizable publicity and was very effective in spotlighting issues of homelessness and hunger.

The folks who pulled off this action say they have committed themselves to having no more boring demonstrations. I have to go along with that. You can only wear out so many pairs of shoes walking in circles before you start cringing

from the desk of...

whenever someone calls to ask you to attend yet another run of the mill demonstration. But when the organizers come up with new and creative ways to get their message across, the calls are met with new enthusiasm; the publicity is better; and people cannot so easily ignore your message.

Such a creative tactic was put into play recently in two demonstrations a few days apart in Detroit and just outside of Ann Arbor. 600 Detroit newspaper workers remain locked out three years after they went on strike. Some of them and their supporters have gone nautical. Tony Ridder, an owner of Knight-Ridder, the publishers of the *Detroit News*, was to receive a "humanitarian" award aboard a cruise vessel on the Detroit River. We seem to spend a lot of time demonstrating at awards banquets where the rich pat each other on the back for being wonderful while their workers are suffering. In this case the cruise was accompanied by a small flotilla of boats full of working class folks with banners and bull horns to let all involved know what kind of a humanitarian Tony really is.

A few days later we went after *Detroit Free Press* publisher Heath Meriwether at his home on the Huron River. As serendipity would have it, on the day of the Detroit flotilla, Heath had written a column in the *Free Press* announcing that the Detroit Newspaper Agency was going back to the bargaining table. He said it was time for everyone to "get on the same boat." Being working class folks we don't have a lot of boats. But we did manage to come up with a canoe and an inflatable to set up a tow line across the river from a public dock to Heath's house. A fellow worker from my days in an IWW bookstore, now a member of the Graduate Employee Organization at the University of Michigan, was in charge of providing transportation for the rest of us. Hearing that filled me with mixed emotions. He once told me how he floated across one of the Great Lakes on some strung-together 5 gallon inflated plastic milk bags. I figured that showed he had some nautical experience; but I was a little nervous about the type of floatation device he might come up with this time. It proved to be substantial. He disconnected a launching deck from a public dock and turned it into a barge which comfortably held about 30 demonstrators and a grill.

I started thinking about Tom Sawyer rafting down the Mississippi. All was delightful except for the slight drift the barge took toward the 40 ft. dam a hundred yards away. Chants echo nicely on a tranquil river. Heath and his neighbors heard us well before we landed. We declared ourselves a sovereign nation and speculated about what we could do next to top this. Helicopter and parachute landings were suggested. Stay tuned.

20 or so others went to the front of Heath's house to do some more conventional picketing. We had him by land and by sea. It was a little disconcerting to have a cellular phone ring on the barge. But it allowed us to coordinate chants with the folks on the other side of the house.

Heath is almost too easy a target. He gets upset. Folks at the front of the house said he came out with neck veins bulging and tears in his eyes. He also came out back to remove a "No Scab Papers" sign one of our landing crew had put on the umbrella on his deck. I shouted to him that he was scabbing on his goons by doing their grunt work. He missed signs attached from the roof of his boat house and 20 ft up one of his trees. We invited him down to "get on the same boat" and negotiate a contract. He declined. We offered him one of our hot dogs. He did take in one that was left for him on his deck. Hope he enjoyed it. And we posed as he snapped our pictures.

As dusk settled, our point made, we headed back to our launching site. A couple of park rangers showed up, very exasperated that we had put public property to such good use. Hey, we put it back. In the parking lot sheriff's deputies were present to read us the trespassing act. Heath lives in Barton Hills, a private village, the second richest community in Michigan. Of course most of us had only been on a public river, not on private property. And since they didn't take our names, they're going to have to read the act to us again next time because they won't be able to be sure we're the same ones they've read it to before. They went through the litany of crimes they could get us for: larceny in taking the dock, trespassing for those who went ashore or drove into the private village. "If we have to next time we'll get our amphibious unit out there to ticket you for being on the river without life jackets." But they were clearly on a harassment patrol, not interested in doing all the paperwork that would be necessary to bust us on charges that probably wouldn't stick. So we had fun and nobody got busted, the finest kind of demonstration.

Having seen the creativity of Wobs in action over the years, all I can suggest is more of the same. Keep looking for that unique approach which will turn the boring demonstration into something eye catching and fun and people will want to come back for more.

See you on the next picket line be it on land, sea or air.

— Fred Chase, General Secretary-Treasurer

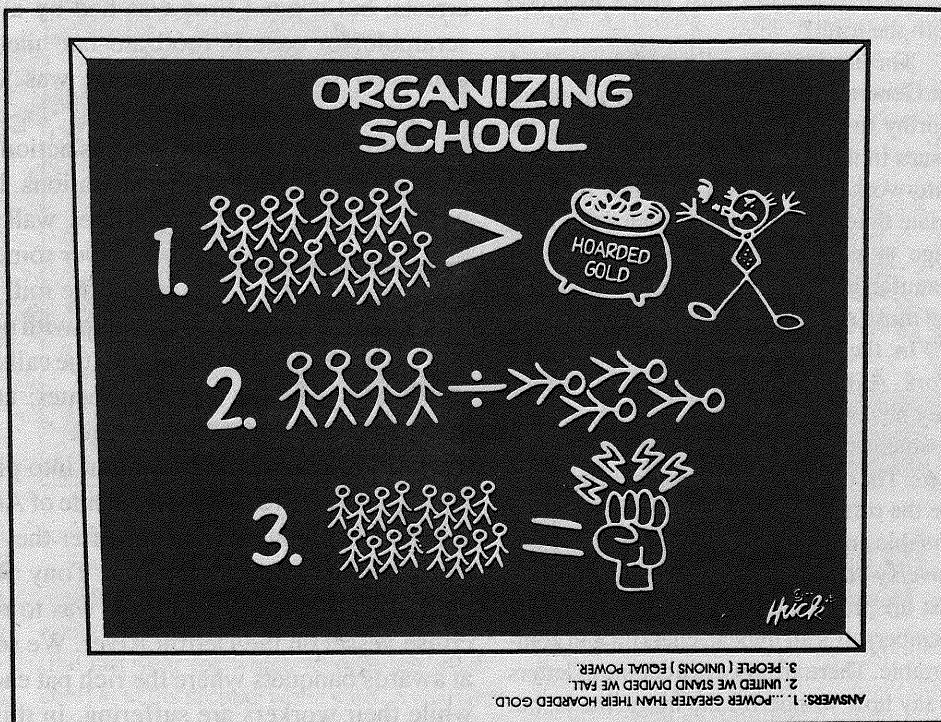
Part-time faculty victory at UMass Boston: How to Win in Tough Times

The year-long struggle for full benefits waged by part-time faculty members at UMass Boston concluded July 2 in a tremendous victory. The university administration agreed to reclassify all union part-time faculty who teach two courses per semester as half-time, salaried employees, a status that gives them full medical (family as well as individual plan), dental and retirement benefits under state law.

In addition, the administration agreed to raise the equivalent per course floor for half-timers from \$3,260 to \$4,000, to give half-timers a cumulative \$200 salary bump each semester, and to provide them with another 16% salary increase over the life of the contract. The deal will be offered immediately to nearly two-thirds of all union members with a reasonable mechanism for extending it to others down the line. Two courses per semester for two consecutive semesters will qualify a part-timer for half-time status, with the consequent benefit package and salary increase.

The victory was the result of a determined struggle that was organized by a group of 15 part-time faculty activists, but that also succeeded in mobilizing the majority of rank-and-file part timers, as well as hundreds of student, staff and full-time faculty supporters. (See "Rebellion of the Lumpen Professoriate: UMass Boston Part-Time Faculty Organize" in the June/July *Industrial Worker*).

To some extent, the current fiscal and political situation in Massachusetts contributed to the victory. The state's so-called "boom" economy has produced a substantial budgetary surplus, though Democratic



and Republican politicians have been falling over one another to ensure that as little of it as possible of it goes to meeting social needs. In addition, acting governor Paul Cellucci faces an election in which he is courting "labor" support, i.e. that of the union bureaucracies. Last summer, with the kind of hypocrisy that we have come to expect from politicians, this explicitly pro-business Republican even appeared on the Teamsters' UPS picket line!

Still, these are tough times for workers in Massachusetts as everywhere else, and especially for contingent workers. The decades-long assault against the working class

has made our victories few and far between. So it's natural that the success of the part-time faculty at UMB is eliciting interest from activists around the country.

The following is a rough, provisional attempt to draw lessons from the UMB campaign in the form of some general strategic principles for part-time faculty struggles.

1) Workplace struggles, especially at universities, are easier to win when they focus on an issue with clear moral resonance. That's why the activists at UMB chose to agitate on the issue of medical and pension benefits. It was a relatively simple

like a good thing, good jobs for people who want to work, but these jobs average just over \$5.00 an hour. In a city where rent laws are in effect to keep rents from climbing over the \$25,000/year range, how are people to make it on under \$10,000 a year?

The jobs that leave children of working people hungry are often the same jobs once held by unionized city workers. These union jobs are being cut, those workers forced to take lower paying jobs elsewhere or sometimes to retire. Again the trend downwards is encouraged. The workfare workers are employed for 1/3 or 1/2 of what the union worker was receiving for the same work. A modern form of slavery! How can we be surprised that corporate America will rape and pillage American workers if our own government will do it so easily?

We could discuss these same types of horrible problems state by state, company by company, but we run into the same situation: that children in the richest country ever to exist go to bed hungry at night, even though their parents work hard every day. Meanwhile rich corporate America continues to get richer.

So what do we do in Memphis and cities like Memphis? It's simple. We stand up and we say hell no, we won't take it anymore. We will no longer blame it on a nameless class of rich people or say "those corporations," we will name names. Our forebears fought to make our country the United States of America, the greatest in the world and we are about to take it back. We will not sit and let a few rich old men full of greed and hate make a mockery of what we love.

We're gonna wave our flags high and say no more. I am a man, I am a woman, I am a human being and I deserve to be treated like one, and I deserve to be paid enough to live like one. I'm not your corporate road kill, so go home and prepare for a fight. I deserve a living wage. We all do.

— Kiern Crosswhite

matter to elicit outrage in the university community over the fact that part-timers were not provided with medical insurance, so that some had to receive care in emergency rooms or under various welfare programs. It seemed equally outrageous to many that the university neither paid into Social Security for part-timers nor provided them with a pension plan. Other issues, such as half-time status with its accompanying wage increases, were piggybacked on the basic "hot-button" issue of health and pension benefits.

2) Except where genuinely democratic and militant unions exist, it is essential to organize independently of existing union structures. This is especially important when part-time faculty members are minority constituencies within local unions. At UMB, activists formed a Part-Time Faculty Committee, one of whose principal tasks was to pressure the full-timer dominated union to support the part-timers' agenda.

3) An activist group, while indispensable, can't succeed on its own. It must involve as many rank and filers as possible in the struggle. In the case of part-time faculty such involvement presents unique difficulties, since the demands of multiple jobs make it difficult for part-timers to meet or even to get to know one another. Various methods should be used to help part-timers weld themselves into an informed, united and mobilized group including email, phone calls, face-to-face conversations, and multiple meetings to get around scheduling difficulties.

4) As much as practically possible, decision-making power ought to remain in the hands of general meetings of part-timers. The Part-Time Faculty Committee managed to convene three sets of general meetings (each meeting had two sessions held on different days of the week) over the course of the year at which rank and filers determined, at least in broad outline, their own negotiating agenda. Democracy is not merely the right, because egalitarian, way to make decisions. It also involves and energizes the largest numbers of people.

5) In order to pressure the union, it's important to appeal to union members over the heads of the leadership. For example, at UMB a full-timer supporter circulated a petition among other full-time faculty members condemning the university for failing to provide part-timers with medical benefits. Though the petition was opposed by the union's acting president, it garnered 170 signatures and thereby began to swing full-time faculty support squarely behind part-timer demands.

6) Student support is vital. There is a natural bond of sympathy between part-time faculty and students, many of whom face prospects of contingent work and lack of benefits in the new "lean" economy. Activists at UMB gathered 2,000 student signatures on a petition supporting medical and pension benefits for part-timers, got sympathetic coverage of the issue in the student newspaper, and drew some students to the picket line.

7) Militant direct action is necessary to demonstrate to the union as well as the administration that business as usual is suspended pending a successful outcome to the battle. For example, at UMB 200 people — part-time faculty members and their supporters — walked a picketline in front of the administration building in the largest labor action on campus in 20 years.

8) Part-timers can win only by keeping the pressure on right to the end. At UMB, as the negotiating process wore down, the union leadership began to push the Part-Time Fac-

A Living Wage for All U. of Memphis Workers

The following leaflet is being distributed by IWW education workers in Memphis:

The modern fight for a living wage has deep roots in the Mid-South. It was thirty years ago that the Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King came to Memphis in support of striking sanitation workers. His first march ended in violence and, determined he could have a peaceful march he returned. It was on that second trip that Dr. King was gunned down. Murdered in Memphis, fighting not only to help secure equal rights for every American, but for the right of every American to work at a safe job and to afford to live in clean safe housing, feed their family, and educate their children. He died so each American could live the American dream, or as the Declaration of Independence puts it, to secure the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The news reports and photographs of Memphis on the verge of chaos still haunt those of us who have seen them. Two photos are especially powerful. The first is that of Dr. King's entourage pointing to the place they believed the fatal shot to have originated, the second is that of a striking worker with a sign that read "I AM A MAN."

During the corporate "trickdown" days of the 1980s and the late 1990s that last photo has become a powerful reminder of how far the war for a living wage is from being over. In a time of run away markets, huge corporate profits, CEO stock incentives, and the great welfare debate, the worker has been left out, run over and left for dead on the road to corporate prosperity, nothing more than free trade road kill. Jobs that have not moved to Mexico where workers are paid eighty cents an hour, or Indonesia where young women are wage slaves for

\$1.50 day, have seen astonishing pay decreases. In the same year that GM, the world's richest corporation, reported record profits, they announced the lay off of thousands upon thousands of workers, blitzkrieging Flint MI, leaving it in economic shambles.

Workers who couldn't make enough money to feed their families were forced to turn to the welfare rolls. The wealthy tagged these hard working Americans as no-account welfare frauds who refused to work. The rhetoric was powerful, hundreds of thousands of welfare queens, mostly minorities, virtually stealing the hard earned tax dollars of those working class people lucky enough to have a job.

The only problem was this information was wrong. The majority of people on welfare were not crack-using prostitutes having babies to increase benefits in order to purchase more drugs, expensive cars or million dollar homes. They are people who are working or trying to work, but at jobs that pay so little they still could not make ends meet. At the same time hard working Americans were being laid off, millions of dollars were being diverted to corporate America, many times more than all the entitlement programs together. Welfare for the poor is only a small fraction of our national budget. Welfare for the military industrial complex is much, much, more.

Many states have passed workfare laws, laws that force working people into jobs which do not necessarily even pay the minimum wage. Such laws further the downward spiral of decreasing wages and increase hunger in America. New York put their welfare recipients to work as janitors and park workers. On the surface this sounds

Borders bosses cash in

When Wobblies and other community activists picketed the grand opening of the new Borders Books store in Burlington, Vermont, managers responded with their own leaflet – a letter attributed (the signature space is blank) to Borders President Richard Flanagan.

Flanagan boasts of Borders' "progressive and nurturing work environment" – not mentioning Borders Group Inc.'s policy of interrogating and disciplining workers suspected of union activity, its poverty wages, and miserable working conditions – and claims the company is actively transforming workers into owners through its stock option plan.

"Outstanding employee shares account for \$170 million in stock, he claims. And that's probably true. At the end of last year Flanagan himself held some \$17.5 million in stock and short-term options. The company's executive officers and board of directors as a group accounted for some \$169 million in Borders stock.

Pity the poor boss

Flanagan doesn't point this out, but the average Borders worker now takes a higher salary than he does. Beginning last year, Flanagan and other Borders executives began waiving their salaries in exchange for stock options. Between April and July of this year, Flanagan cleared nearly \$750,000 from cashing in those options. CEO Robert DiRomualdo made \$8.7 million on stock options in the same period, while Borders Vice Chairman George Mrkonich earned a \$17 million profit on his stock options even after his options were cut back because he works only part-time.

Meanwhile, a couple of years after this information first became available in Wob-

bly cyberspace, the magazine *Mother Jones* put up a link to Borders' union-busting manual on parsons.iww.org, leading to a huge surge in visitors to the Borders cyberpicket site. Readers reposted excerpts from the manual to dozens of email lists, further publicizing the Borders boycott.

Industrial Worker editor Jon Bekken spoke at the Burlington Public Library July 29th, sharing information on the chain bookstores' predatory practices and noting that Borders was a threat not only to its workers, but also to the ability of alternative publishers to get their materials out to the public.

Borders charges publishers thousands of dollars to display their books and magazines, demands special discounts and payments, and routinely returns thousands of unsold books to publishers rather than paying for them. A lively discussion followed, and the entire program was videotaped for broadcast on the local cable system.

Leaflets and other materials for groups and branches interested in organizing Borders actions are available from the Boston and Philadelphia GMBs.

World Bank union-busting

Workers in Asia were targeted by the World Bank and member states in 1994 for destruction of industrial unions in order to "Insulat[e] the Economic Technocracy."

The 1994 report, written by 50 World Bank officials, advised Asian governments on how to divide workers into alliances with their bosses in order to weaken wage demands. The World Bank also colluded with Asian states to hide 30 million workers' condition of poverty from public view. Some World Bank workers blew the whistle on their bosses for re-writing reports on the corruption of bosses and politicians.

Sedro Woolley construction workers go IWW...

continued from page 1

Pacific may soon be acquired by Universal Services, a multinational that is part of a consortium of oil companies developing the oil reserves off Sakhalin Island, which is off the Siberian coast. Part of the \$70 billion project is to build company housing for the workers, which is being manufactured in Sedro Woolley. Major investors in the development include Shell oil, Exxon, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, and others. Skagit Pacific was originally signed onto a subcontract to provide 400 housing units, and has signed a three year contract to build more.

Last May, a traveling delegate met workers interested in organizing and contacted the Olympia GMB. A meeting was called in early July, and delegates from Seattle and Olympia traveled north to offer support for organizing. After two meetings, nearly 80 percent of the workforce was ready to join the union.

During the effort, a representative from

ulty Committee to accept a settlement that did not include salaried status or an increase in base pay. But just a handful of days before the final negotiating session, the Committee drafted a letter to the union negotiating team, which it sent by certified mail, informing them that such a resolution would be unacceptable. Many on the team, including the chief negotiator, blew their tops. Yet in the final session, the part-timers got what they had been asking for.

These strategic principles are not exhaustive. And they do not guarantee victory. Unfortunately, there is no fool-proof formula for defeating the employer class. But they try to capture something of the daring, resolve, and good sense it's going to take, not only to win higher wages and benefits, but to build a new society.

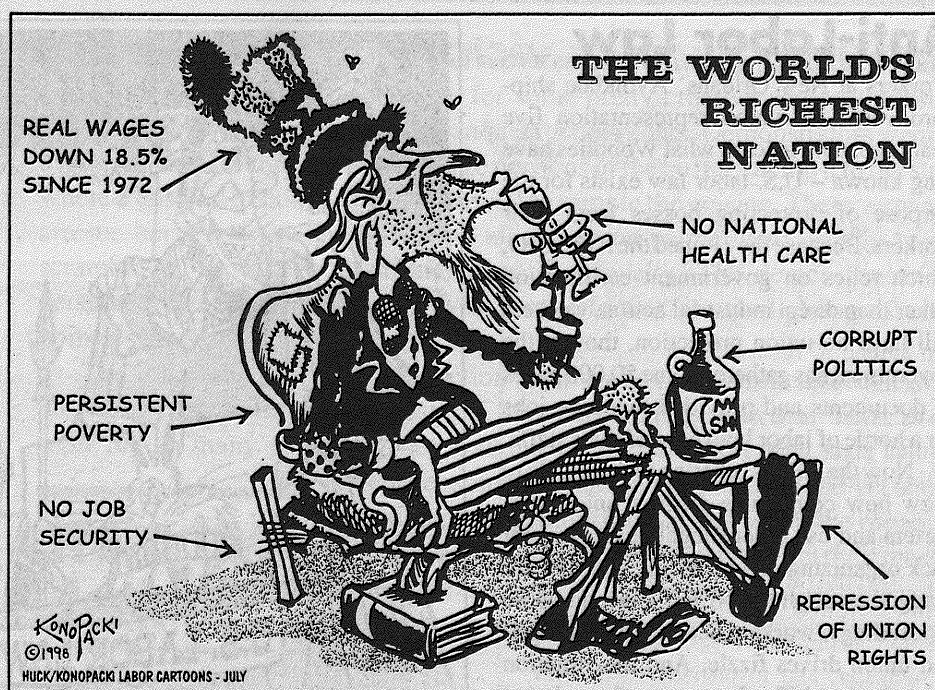
— Gary Zabel

the Iron Workers local in Tukwila showed up at Skagit Pacific, leaving stacks of union authorization cards and business cards out openly in the workplace. Thus alerted, management began to look for union supporters and found the IWW. Workers began organizing "open mouth" for the IWW, while the Iron Workers have received little or no support. Up until that point, the organizing had been completely covert.

A July 23 mass meeting had been scheduled to sign up workers into the union; management caught wind of the meeting and held a captive meeting on the day before. The usual threats were made: "you will lose your jobs if you join the union," "we will have to close," "the union will bring in experienced journeymen to replace all of the unskilled workers," "the union will make you take a urinalysis to get benefits," and others straight out of the union buster's handbook, often in blatant violation of the National Labor Relations Act. More serious threats were made to workers individually, and sent a chill over the pro-union sentiment that was being openly expressed on the shop floor. However, union members are still holding strong in spite of the threats, and support continues to build after this setback.

The union has sent a letter to the rest of the workers refuting management's lies, and an open letter to management challenging them to a debate on the shop floor in front of all workers. No doubt the bosses will refuse to discuss the issues in a non-threatening atmosphere, merely proving the validity of workers complaints and fears at Skagit Pacific.

The Seattle Federation of Industrial Unions (Puget Sound GMB) has sent out an appeal for organizing and seed funds for the new union to all GMBs and Industrial Unions, and many members in the Pacific Northwest. Work is being done both in



Illegal to picket?

The Australasian Industrial Relations Commission is allowing meatpacker MT Gambier to sue its sacked workers and their union for picketing the plant. The dispute began when Gambier began slashing wages and transferring workers to other companies in violation of the union contract.

When workers won a court order in May ordering the company to honor the agreement, the company refused to pay A\$400,000 in back pay due the workers and sacked the entire workforce. The move triggered round-the-clock picketlines which the company claims cost it two contracts that would have enabled it to keep the plant running.

The IRC apparently believes that by acting for themselves, the workers showed a lack of respect for legal proceedings. The reports do not make it clear why the bosses are not being held to a similar standard.

Docks closed in solidarity action

600 longshore workers shouting "No Justice, No Work!" rallied in front of Superior Court in downtown Oakland in the morning of July 22, to protest a legal attack by the Pacific Maritime Association (the bosses' association) on workers' solidarity.

Angry longshoremen filled the small courtroom, the steps of the building and the street during the hearing on PMA's attempt to force the International Longshore and Warehouse Union to let the bosses pore through union records in an attempt to find information that might assist their lawsuit seeking millions of dollars from Robert Irminger, who served as picket captain during an action that blocked unloading of the Neptune Jade's scab cargo last year.

So many longshoremen participated in the rally that ports in Oakland and San Francisco were forced to close for the day for lack of workers. The bosses, of course, claimed the stay-away was an illegal strike.

The case began last September when longshoremen refused to cross a picket line against the scab ship Neptune Jade in solidarity with the Liverpool dockers. The PMA sued labor activist picketers and the union and is demanding the ILWU hand over union records.

Superior Court Judge Needham threw out the bulk of the cases in March, noting that the defendants were exercising First Amendment rights of free speech, but allowed the suit against Irminger to proceed. The PMA has appealed the decision.

An exhibition of photographs and documents marking the one-year anniversary of the picket and ensuing lawsuit and solidarity actions opened at the Laney College Library August 24th. The college was among the initial defendants, as members of its Labor Studies Club joined the picket line.

Write the Neptune Jade Defense Committee at P.O. Box 2574, Oakland CA 94614.

The International Transport Workers' Federation recently announced that it will create a list of ships handled by non-union labour, to be distributed beginning in October amongst unions organising dock workers to facilitate possible solidarity actions.

Peasants liberate food

Over 1,000 landless workers hijacked seven trucks of food in co-operation with farmers July 29 in four Brazilian towns. The area is in the midst of a drought. An activist said "there was no other alternative to taking the food, no help of any kind has come from city, state or federal government, with 76 groups of landless people they had no choice but take the food."

Treat students like rats

Over 50 students in Britain were recently subjected to feedings of pesticides and fly poison by US- and French-based chemical corporations for "testing" purposes.

Direct Action

Nurses in Fremantle Hospital in Western Australia took some interesting direct actions in their recent dispute.

One in five hospital beds were closed by the nurses and a fifth of elective surgery cancelled as part of an industrial campaign. Nurses at Fremantle had agreed to accept emergency admissions but hospital administrators abused their goodwill by continuing to send patients for non-urgent procedures despite the beds being closed by industrial action.

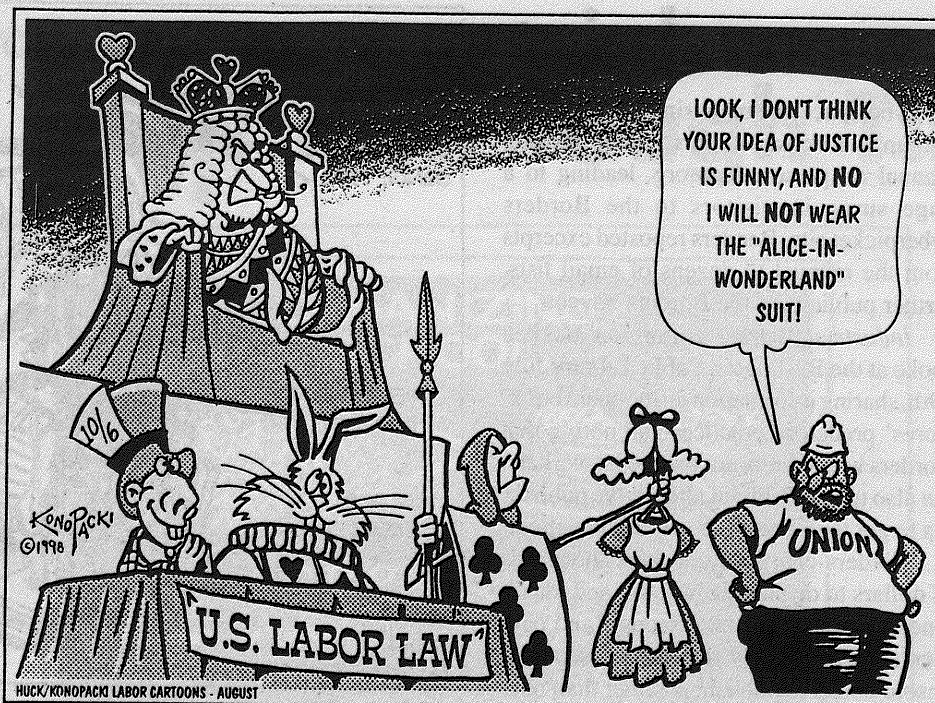
Nurses were pressured to accept the patients, many reduced to tears by the pressure put on them. So they took mattresses from the beds and hid them. Result – they could not be forced to admit non-urgent patients. If a real emergency turned up the mattresses are quickly "found" again.

Anti-Labor Law

Workers at New Orleans' Avondale shipyard voted for union representation five years ago, only to learn what Wobblies have long known — U.S. labor law exists for the purpose of protecting bosses from their workers. Because they joined the AFL-CIO, which relies on government certification rather than direct industrial action, workers still have no union protection, though the government has gathered some 50,000 pages of documents and provided lucrative jobs for a horde of labor lawyers and their staffs.

Now the AFL is pointing to Avondale to show how companies dismiss union supporters and use other illegal tactics to beat back organizing drives. While workers are dragged through the NLRB's interminable proceedings, workers become discouraged and union drives fizzle. And the situation (though the AFL does not acknowledge this) has gotten no better since President Clinton's appointees took the helm at the National Labor Relations Board.

Even where the NLRB has reached a decision, for example ordering Avondale to reinstate 28 workers fired for union activities more than four years ago, its orders are not enforced. None of the workers has gotten their job back. Meanwhile, the U.S. Navy continues awarding hundreds of millions of dollars of work to Avondale, which has some of the lowest wages and benefits



for ship-building workers in the country.

Avondale also has the worst safety record of any U.S. shipyard, with twice as many workers dying between 1982 and 1994 (the last year for which records are available) as at the second-worst yard. Avondale says no one has died in the last three years, and claims to have "an excellent safety record relative to the rest of the industry."

No Shopping at Loblaws

Members of Toronto Action for Social Change, the Ontario Coalition for Non-Violent Action, Industrial Workers of the World IU 670 and the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty held a noon hour action at the flagship of Loblaws stores July 25th. Many of those present were in costume as people from Sherwood Forest. Robin Hood (aka Sarah MacKenzie) and Honest Sean (aka Sean Beck) were arrested outside the store.

Robin Hood and the Merry Outlaws of Sherwood were hoping to take food from the rich supporters of the Harris agenda and give it to the hungry. (Harris is Ontario's Conservative prime minister, and has been slashing social services.) Failing that, they would have been content to hand out leaflets revealing some of the corporate crimes and hypocrisy of Loblaws. However, the evil sheriff's men were quick to arrest the perceived leaders of the action and charge them with trespassing.

Robin Hood joins the Easter Bunny and Santa Claus in being arrested for protesting at Loblaws, trying to draw attention to the hypocrisy of being involved with, and profiting from, food drives while supporting the very policies that lead to hunger in Ontario.

Leaflets called for a boycott of Loblaws until they stopped donating to the Harris Tories. Loblaws agrees with this call, handing out letters to several TASC members and supporters threatening trespassing charges if the recipients entered any Loblaws, No-Frills, Valu Mart or Y.I.G. store without written consent of the manager.

It is encouraging to note that the demonstration ended with Loblaws and TASC agreeing that people shouldn't shop at Loblaws.

Anti-racists killed

Two members of the Las Vegas, Nevada, chapter of Anti-Racist Action, Daniel Shersty and Lin "Spit" Newborn were murdered the night of July 3, apparently by racist skinheads with whom the two had often clashed.

The two belonged to Las Vegas Unity Skins, an anti-racist skinhead group. Shersty was white. Newborn was black. Their bodies were found in the desert outside Las Vegas. Newborn was shot as he ran away. Shersty was shot in the face. Both men's wallets were found on their bodies, and police are investigating the murders as a racial incident.

Ontario general strike cancelled

The Ontario Federation of Labour has shelved plans for a general strike to protest the provincial government's union-busting and attacks on social services. Instead, the OFL will campaign against the Tories in elections expected next Spring. OFL delegates had voted for a province-wide general strike at their convention last fall.

Women public workers in Canada owed \$7 billion

The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal found the government guilty July 31 of systematically paying women workers less than men and ordered pay adjustments retroactive for 13 years. The Public Service Alliance of Canada union estimates the workers will receive \$3 billion while one government minister estimates as high as \$7 billion.

High-Tech Assault

A Silicon Valley worker was brain damaged for life when his employer lowered him into a railcar to shovel toxic waste sludge produced by the computer industry. Rodrigo Cruz's air supply line, wrapped in duct tape, failed to provide enough oxygen. Romic Environmental Technologies recently withdrew its appeal against 13 citations issued by the California Occupational Safety & Health Administration for the assault.

While shoveling the toxic sludge, Cruz complained of a lack of air and fell unconscious on being pulled from the railcar. The jerry-rigged system had been setting off carbon monoxide alarms and was operating at half-pressure. He was put on the job after a more experienced worker who refused to use the air supply system was fired. Cruz suffered permanent brain damage from oxygen deprivation.

Romic processes over 13 million gallons of hazardous waste each year produced by companies such as Intel, Hewlett Packard, National Semiconductor, Johnson Matthey, Lockheed, Boeing, and Dow. Located near single family dwellings, schools and daycare centers, Romic has a history of toxic fires, leaks, spills and explosions.

Frowns at Big Brown

Teamster members across the country wore "Respect Our Contract" stickers and held parking lot rallies July 31 to protest United Parcel Service's decision not to create 2,000 full-time jobs called for in the contract that settled last year's strike.

Instead, UPS has declared that part of the agreement "null and void." Rather than adding workers, UPS is laying them off. UPS says volume is down 4 percent from last year, a decline the union attributes to cut-backs in services to less-profitable markets. UPS has also turned to mandatory overtime and speed-ups to avoid the need to hire new workers, the Teamsters says.

Although most commentators hailed last year's UPS settlement as a major victory, the *Industrial Worker* noted in our October 1997 issue that few if any new jobs were likely to be created as a result. As we noted, new hiring was tied to continued increases in UPS package volume and set at a level identical to the increase in full-time positions over the prior four years.

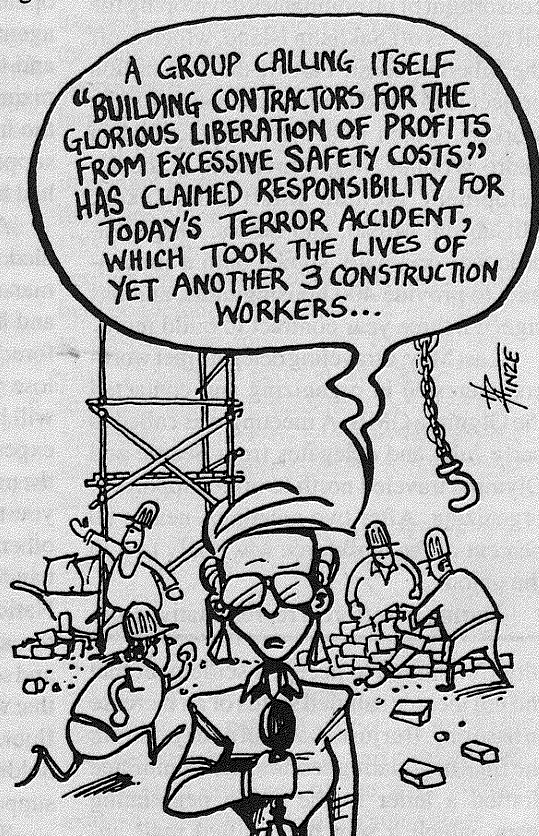
Although thousands of UPS "part-timers" put in 30 to 60 hours a week (UPS labels jobs full- or part-time without regard to the hours actually put in, taking advantage of the dramatically lower hourly wages paid to part-timers under the union contract), the contract did not require these positions to be recognized as full-time.

UPS says it has eliminated 16,000 part- and full-time positions over the year, including "several thousand" who have been laid-off. The union says 200 or so workers have been laid off.

No right to kill workers

The Montana Supreme Court has ruled that a former mine safety coordinator can pursue his lawsuit against the Stillwater Mining Company.

He suffered emotional problems after supervisors repeatedly ignored his recommendations and several workers were seriously injured or killed. He has been unable to return to work as a result of his severe guilt and depression.



— Farewell, Fellow Worker —

Gilbert Mers 1908-1998

Fellow Worker John Gilbert Mers died in his sleep July 5th at age 90. He was a member of the IWW for the last 51 years. He authored *Working the Waterfront: The ups and downs of a Rebel Longshoreman*. In 1934 Mers led a wildcat ILA strike on the Corpus Christi waterfront. (He attributed its success to an IWW chief steward and crew on a Lykes Lines freighter.) Mers was elected president of the Maritime Federation of the Gulf, whose members were in direct conflict with I.S.U. goons. Mers was also president of the Corpus Christi Central Labor Council and later president of I.L.A. Local 1224. He joined the IWW after breaking with the politicians then struggling for control of the waterfront unions.

Solidarity with Hyundai workers

Northwest Wobs were asked to help with last month's West Coast Han Young Striker Tour shortly before the strikers arrived. Workers at Han Young, a Hyundai contractor in Tijuana, Mexico, have been on strike since May 22 demanding union recognition and a living wage. Han Young has refused to negotiate with its workers for over a year.

We contacted the Legal Employment Law Office which agreed to set up an event in Seattle. Wobblies in Olympia and Seattle, other union activists, and the Northwest Leonard Peltier Support Network also agreed to help. Out of that came a small event in Seattle Aug. 5th, and an event at the port the next day followed by a large meeting that evening. The Olympia IWW branch sponsored a talk August 7, and picketed a Hyundai dealer in Lacey on the 8th. That evening an event was held in Tacoma at the IBEW hall. Around \$1,400 was raised for the Han Young Strike Fund, and good contacts were made

for continuing support for the Han Young strike here in the northwest.

We have an important direct connection to the struggle in that Hyundai is building a large container terminal at the port of Tacoma and they also unload their cars at this port. There has been issued a call for international picketing on Sept. 19 and we are starting to organize a picket of the Hyundai Tacoma Port project.

The Han Young strike is making some very important connections that the labor movement cannot afford to overlook. Hyundai is moving work out of Korea because of higher wages and a very active labor movement. Han Young in Mexico's maquiladora district is one of the places Hyundai has picked because of low wages and the willingness of the Mexican government to suppress independent unions. Han Young is making truck chassis and shipping containers for Hyundai and some of them are being shipped to the U.S. Thus, there is an important connection being made between workers in Korea, Mexico and the U.S. If you are in the northwest contact the Tacoma IWW (P.O.B. 5464, Tacoma WA 98415-0464, arthurmiller50@juno.com) to help. If you would like to send a donation or more information on the strike, write to: Support Committee for Maquiladora Workers, 3909 Centre Street #210, San Diego CA 92103, scmww@juno.com.

Baltimore Wobs report that they picketed a Hyundai dealership June 16, distributing information on the struggle of the Han Young workers, and are planning to participate in the Sept. 19 day of action.

Workers fight layoffs

Thousands of autoworkers in South Korea occupied their factory July 30 upon news of 1,500 workers being fired for rejecting an early retirement offer.

The Hyundai bosses are the first conglomerates (chaebol) in Korea to fire masses of people. Workers are occupying their plant in hopes of stopping mass-firing plans by other Hyundai subsidiaries, Daewoo Motors, and Samsung Electronics.

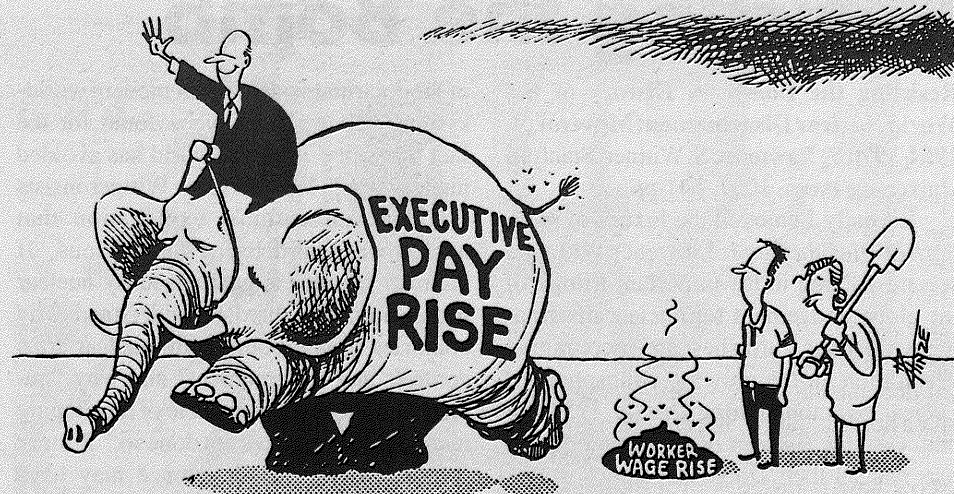
Army to control port?

The Federation of Bangladesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry has asked the government to station troops around Chittagong port in order to prevent workers from striking and "bring back discipline."

Justice Ronald Castille (818 Market Street Suite 3730, Philadelphia PA 19103, fax: 215/560-1808) urging him to recuse himself, and to Chief Justice John P. Flaherty Jr. (Six Gateway Center Suite 616, Pittsburgh PA 15222, fax: 215/560-1808) urging him to pressure Castille to recuse himself.

The International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal is also warning supporters against fundraising by a group alternately calling itself the Quixote Center, Equal Justice and Prison Radio.

Quixote claims to be raising funds to produce a series of Mumia's commentaries for broadcast on Pacifica radio, although a these are actually articles written by Mumia for publication and read by others. While prison authorities will not permit Mumia to speak in his own voice, he has made it very clear that he would not cooperate with this project if he could. Mumia wrote the group on June 3 demanding "that EJ disengage itself totally from work relating to myself, name, case and image - forthwith." Mumia states that only a small portion of the money raised by Quixote/EJ for his case has actually been turned over for legal and defense expenses, and that they have refused to cooperate with his defense committee. Quixote/Equal Justice responded a month later with a new fundraising campaign flouting Mumia's clearly expressed wishes.



299 unionists killed in 1997

An annual study by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions reports that hundreds of unionists were killed in 1997. The killings began January 28, with the assassination of General Workers Union of Algeria secretary Abdelhak Ben Hamouda, his bodyguard and another UGTA staffer.

The ICFTU reports that 299 unionists were killed in 1997, there were 1,681 documented cases of violence. Some 2,400 people were arrested and detained in 1997 for their union activities, and more than 50,000 workers lost their jobs for the same reason.

Africa's export process zones are models of anti-labor repression. In Lesotho, police stations were set up at the entrance to the zones to prevent access by union organizers. In Namibia, strikes are banned in the zones. And the continent is increasingly using structural adjustment programmes as an excuse

for imposing austerity plans mand under-mining wages and working conditions.

In Djibouti, police opened fire on unionists protesting months of salary arrears, while in Niger more than 20 union leaders were imprisoned for taking strike action to demand the opening of negotiations with the government. In Swaziland, four union leaders were jailed for calling a general strike. While they were in prison, police violently interrupted an SFTU meeting. "SFTU Treasurer Mxolisi Mbata, a wheelchair user, was thrown from his chair and forced to crawl to the police station," the ICFTU reports.

In Ethiopia, teachers' union official Maru Assefa was killed May 8 by police. ETA President Taye Woldeemiate is still in prison following his arrest in 1996 and the ICFTU estimates that some 70 trade unionists are imprisoned in the country.

Sexual harassment

continued from page 4
or local law.

It is important for a potential litigant to consider under which law - state or federal - he or she wishes to proceed. In California for example, the amount of money a worker may receive is technically unlimited. If a jury is particularly outraged by a boss' conduct, they may award a punitive damage far above the cap that federal law allows.

Theoretically, anyone who is affected by a sexually harassing environment may sue. However, the claim must be "reasonable." The Ninth District U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in *Ellison v. Brady*, defined this as how a "reasonable" person in the victim's circumstances might react. For example, what a reasonable woman might think is a hostile environment is not necessarily the same as what a man might think. If a woman was harassed, the woman's point of view is the one that counts. But a particularly sensitive person might have a difficult time presenting a "reasonable" claim that most people would take enough offense at a joke to deem the work environment hostile.

The EEOC takes into account the severity of the harassment, how often it occurs, and how vocal the victim(s) were. The more severe the harassment, the less vocal the victim is required to be, because people are expected to have a very basic idea to not sexually harass co-workers or subordinates. Less severe harassment must be spoken out against consistently. A general rule of thumb on how to proceed is: 1) Clearly state that you find the behavior offensive each and

every time it occurs. 2) Document the harassment by writing the date, time, place and witnesses and detail what happened and your response. 3) If there is a company policy on sexual harassment, follow the steps but make sure that you get a reply. If you're in a union, get your steward involved right away. 4) Keep copies of performance evaluations and other reviews of your work to avoid giving the harasser room to question your job performance in order to justify firing you. 5) File a complaint with either your state anti-discrimination agency or the EEOC. Investigate your state and local laws to see which agency gives the best protection. An excellent resource is the Nine to Five National Association of Working Women at 1-800-522-0925.

The anecdote from my old workplace would have been deemed sexual harassment if my cohorts and I had made a consistent stink about it to the boss and the guys who put up the calendar and nothing was done about it. But the award would have probably been just a cease-and-desist order, and the process would have been time-consuming to say the least. Luckily, I had the pleasure of working with folks willing to stick together and handle the situation ourselves. When sexual harassment issues come to the forefront, you'll be all the stronger if you turn to sympathetic fellow workers on the job, in your union and in your community. In the United States, it has been consistently estimated that sexual harassment happens to somewhere between 40 and 50 percent of working women and 15 percent of working men so you're never alone.

— Alexis Buss

Printers strike

Workers at the Imprenta Morales Hermanos printing plant in Mexico City have been on strike since July 13, 1996. After years of abuse by their politically connected boss, workers formed an independent union (affiliated with the FAT, the Authentic Workers Front) after the boss dismissed 40 of the original 70 workers.

However, the boss, Jose Antonio Morales, refused to recognize their union. When union officials refused his bribes Morales fired the union's secretary without cause, agreeing to reinstate him only after workers went on strike. But in the aftermath of that victory, Morales began transferring the best equipment to another printing plant he owns. His brother and nephew assaulted a worker who went public with the workers' grievances, and offered pay-offs to any worker who left the union (none did).

Finally, after months of struggle, Morales stopped paying the workers - saying they would not be paid until they disbanded their union. After eight weeks without pay, the workers - many of whom had worked for the company for more than 30 years - went on strike. They have been on the picket line ever since. Messages of support can be sent to FAT, Godar #20, Colonia Guadalupe Victoria, DF, Mexico or faxed c/o Colectivo Acción Libertaria at 01152-5456-9316.

Mumia update

Activists working to free class war prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal from Pennsylvania's death row are pressuring Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Ronald Castille to recuse himself from ruling on Mumia's pending appeal. Although Castille is now a Supreme Court justice, ten years ago he was Philadelphia's District Attorney and played a key role in assuring that Mumia was not granted a new trial despite an unending list of police, prosecutorial and judicial misconduct. Castille signed all the prosecution's briefs against Mumia's appeal at the time, and is now in the position to review his own arguments of a decade ago against a new trial.

Despite the gross conflict of interest and many signs of strong bias against Mumia, Castille has refused to recuse himself, that is to step aside from the court's deliberations on this case. Polite letters should be sent to

In November We Remember

It has for some years been tradition to run in the November IW greeting ads along the theme "In November We Remember." Ads must be received by October 8th to run in the November issue. We're asking \$10 for a 1 inch tall ad (1 column wide); \$35 for 4 inches by 4 7/8 inches (2 columns); or \$80 for a quarter page. We can set it, or you can send in camera-ready copy.

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Resisting the Bomb

Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954-1970 by Lawrence S. Wittner. Stanford University Press, 1007, 641 pp.

Recently I enjoyed the luxury of reading *Resisting the Bomb*, Lawrence Wittner's second volume in his important trilogy of the global movement for nuclear disarmament. Wittner furnishes an encouraging declaration on the growing atmosphere of nuclear restraint, noting that in 1953 the editors of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* had set their Doomsday Clock at two minutes to midnight, but by 1972 the hands stood at 12 minutes to midnight, the most optimistic setting in history. In the same passage, Wittner offers a striking picture of the nuclear weapons buildup:

"Speaking in 1974 before the United Nations, [one] U.S. Senator reported that the stockpile of nuclear weapons had reached the equivalent of the destructive power of 615,385 Hiroshima bombs. When Soviet nuclear capabilities were included, the figure for the nuclear explosive force of the two superpowers soared to over a million times the atomic bomb that had annihilated Hiroshima. Moreover, Britain, France and China also had nuclear weapons, and several additional countries were in the process of building them." (p 470)

Conventional wisdom holds that nuclear holocaust was thwarted by something like a balance of power politics. Was this the case? Not to any significant degree, Wittner argues in this wonderfully instructive tome.

Wittner subtly decodes the doublespeak

New IWW publications

Southern Wobs are launching the *Righteous Rebel*, a regional Wob newsletter focusing on worker issues particular to the south. They are looking for contributions from Wobs in the southern states for the first edition. Send to the Atlanta GMB, PO Box 80405, Chamblee GA 30366

Union² has just released Issue #1. This self-described "platform of Wobbly culture" features several articles on IWW history, a glossary on Wobbly terminology (unfortunately not drawn from IWW sources, and including highly misleading references to the 1923-25 conflict where a small group tried to seize control over the union through force of arms and court injunction – they won the injunction, were expelled from the union, and spent several years sending disorganizers to IWW strikes and organizing drives), reproductions of some classic IWW cartoons, and a page of IWW poetry.

The editors might have done better to seek out contemporary accounts rather than the rather dispassionate historical notes on offer, but perhaps readers unfamiliar with IWW history will find these materials of interest. Copies are \$2 from Red Cap Press, PO Box 42233, Cincinnati OH 45242. Subscriptions are \$5 for 3 issues.

San Francisco Bay Area Marine Transport Workers

Maritime workers in the San Francisco Bay area have begun meeting, and recently petitioned the IWW General Executive Board for a charter for their San Francisco Bay Ports Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union Branch.

The new branch includes a veteran seafaring member of the MTW from the days when we were a force on the Pacific Coast, as well as several dock and tugboat workers. Marine Transport Workers are under increased attack in the Bay area and around the world. At the same time, many maritime workers find themselves without effective union representation as employers increasingly turn to 'casuals' and other temporary workers.

of the doctrinal system of our modern world-system. "How should we account for the fact that since 1945 the world has avoided nuclear war?" Wittner asks. Wittner insists that the conventional explanation that nuclear weapons deterred it is specious. "If national security is guaranteed by nuclear possession, it is hard to understand why countries should bother with nuclear arms controls and disarmament" and why "numerous nations quite capable of developing nuclear weapons have not done so." Wittner does not deny that deterrence may have worked on some occasions. But, he argues, deterrence is "no more than a hypothesis that can be neither proven nor disproven" and is insufficient to explain the major developments of the nuclear age. (pp ix, 473)

Wittner insists that major developments such as the emergence of nuclear arms controls are best explained by looking at the world anti-nuclear campaign. By no means did the campaign progress linearly – indeed, it encountered unsympathetic and often hostile right-wing constituencies and dwindled in vitality during the late 1960s. However, during the late 1950s and early 1960s the movement blossomed into the largest grassroots struggle in modern history, one which mobilized millions of people around the world:

"A mass movement against nuclear weapons swept across broad portions of the globe. In some nations this was the largest protest campaign to appear for decades, in others for centuries. Although the movement was strongest in North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia – where peace and disarmament groups had previously established themselves – it mustered support in most nations of the world. Indeed, the nuclear disarmament movement became genuinely international, mobilizing as many as a half a million people simultaneously for street demonstrations and other popular manifestations against the Bomb in dozens of nations. Sometimes, indeed, it

Book Reviews

became transnational, as nuclear protesters surged forth from country to country, usually to the dismay of their governments." (p 463)

The anti-nuclear campaign, Wittner argues, fostered the intense public opinion which pressed policy makers to institute measures such as the nuclear testing moratorium of 1958, the atmospheric test ban treaty of 1963, the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 1968, and subsequent strategic nuclear arms controls.

There is no disputing that the movement's message – Nuclear war spelled human annihilation – was a passionate bugle call rallying mass concern. Nor can anyone seriously deny that with the public clamoring for salutary political decision-making, leaders of the nuclear powers recognized that anti-nuclear sentiment might also be employed as a political weapon against rival nations and their politicians – and consequently, that public policy in all relevant quarters began changing significantly. "How else can one explain [Nikita] Krushchev's willingness to admit nuclear disarmament demonstrators to the Soviet Union, his courtship of figures like [Bertrand] Russell and organizations like SANE, or his lengthy meetings with [Leo] Szilard and [Norman] Cousins?" Wittner asks. "How else can one explain the Western governments' escalating enthusiasm for the Pugwash conferences, or the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' rhetoric about a sane nuclear policy?" (p 468)

History aficionados will appreciate Wittner's scrupulous research, clear English prose, and most recent contribution to the history of nuclear disarmament activist. But like *One World or None* (the award-winning first volume of this trilogy), *Resisting the Bomb* will be appreciated by a much broader audience – all of us who espouse world peace, social justice and democratic arrangements.

Wittner's work is an excellent antidote to the mountain of traditional history books under which we all stand. Whereas traditional history focuses on presidents, prime ministers, kings and queens, military heroes and wealthy capitalists, Wittner's work focuses upon popular resistance. The significance of his reversed historical perspective is very simple. When traditional history de-emphasizes people's protest it undermines the fundamental democratic principle that the people rather than the privileged elite are the ultimate source of power and change. Whereas traditional history diverts people from focusing on substantive issues and reinforces apathy, passivity and dependence on privileged elites to solve critical social problems, *Resisting the Bomb* serves to inspire the opposite effect. In telling about people's struggles against nuclear weaponry, the book also helps keep alive the rich memory of the struggles of women, blacks, Indians, the working class, the poor and unemployed – struggles the establishment wants us to forget. Wittner's tome also reminds us that any future wish for social, racial, economic and environmental justice can be obtained only by the mobilization of enlightened public opinion by popular social movements willing to engage in tactics such as demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, boycotts, direct action to reconstruct institutions and revamp relationships in the areas of work and play in everyday life.

While human history offers no spectacle more frightful than the idea of nuclear holocaust, Lawrence Wittner has given us an exciting, critical and honest version of how humankind has managed to avert large-scale nuclear nightmare. Like *One World Or None* before it, *Resisting the Bomb* might be seen as obligatory reading for those who resist the insanity of nuclear war and devote themselves to the grassroots struggle for world peace. Of course, the resistance did not end in the 1970s, as Wittner will surely demonstrate in the final volume of this trilogy, a volume promising to be inspirational in the wake of the Gulf War and amid the nuclearization and weaponization of space.

— Blaise Farina

Labor history for students

Work and Labor by Judy Gail. Poppy-kettle Enterprises, 1998, \$25 (available from IWW), paper.

This history in story and song from the Stone Age to the Information Age is a solution in search of a problem, or more precisely, a solution in search of teachers and school administrators ready to acknowledge there is a problem. As the author points out, the vast majority of junior and senior high school students will go on to join the work force. Yet most will carry with them no coherent picture of work and its place in society, and still less of the fight of organized labor to turn work from drudgery to dignity.

Being a singer and a storyteller herself, Gail naturally turns to Father Timeless and his appearances before Mrs. Rupert's high school class to tell in song and story the evolution of work and labor through the eons. For the earliest periods, the teacher has to resort to myths, allegories and generalizations, but beginning with the 18th Century and the Industrial Revolution the stories become real, and most of them are not pleasant.

First of all, the idea of "progress" comes in for scrutiny. Did progress always represent improvement for everyone? A quick tour of the mines and mills of the last century proves otherwise. Farmers fared no better. While the men and women who till the soil are lucky to have bread and bacon fact and tea to eat, the land and livestock owners dine on turtle soup and stuffed flounder with tarts for dessert, washed down with fine wine.

Father Timeless lets us see, once again in song and story, how these injustices naturally led to labor organizing, providing sheet music at the end of each chapter for those who want to sing along. Some of the tales are well-known, party of labor's folklore. Others, like the narrative of the hapless "teppentine" workers, mostly blacks, arrested in Florida on various pretexts and leased into virtual slavery harvesting turpentine from the state's pine forests, have never been widely told.

The Robber Barons of the late 19th Century have their say, often quoted out of their own mouths. Commodore Vanderbilt regales us with his rise to wealth and power. We hear of Astor's devilment trading rot gut whiskey illegally to Indians. Andrew Carnegie gets his due as donor to worthy causes, but his gifts are not allowed to obscure his ghastly abuse of his workers. While Carnegie at least made real donations, fellow tycoon "Uncle Daniel" Drew, we learn, only pretended to make his.

The world of Father Timeless becomes ever more turbulent as the working class loses patience with the barons and their ways. The Muckrakers, courageous journalists and writers who exposed the working and living conditions of "the other half," rate a chapter; and famous strikes like Homestead and Lawrence are shown in detail. Not every battle ends in victory, but the struggle goes on as working people refuse to live like animals and demand a decent life for themselves and their families.

But Gail's book is no propaganda screed. While A. Philip Randolph and John L. Lewis

are remembered with respect, the elitist attitudes of Samuel Gompers and the short-sighted policies of his American Federation of Labor come in for criticism, as do racist and reactionary union "leaders" whose contribution to labor's struggle was minimal at best.

In her final chapter, *The Extinction of Work as We Know It*, Gail's hand becomes less sure. Her descriptions of the global pillage are compelling, but the actions she proposes to halt it are largely measures that have already been found wanting, although the IWW idea of a full day's pay for a half day's work is mentioned. Given the mentality and limitations of the AFL-CIO, are these business unions likely to prove a serious obstacle to the plans of the CEOs she despises? Seeing the behavior of both major parties, is working within them likely to help? While it is not Gail's job to rethink the basic assumptions of the Global Economy, it would be refreshing to hear another voice demanding they be rethought, perhaps by a Brain Trust of organized labor.

While the IWW is honored, *The One Big Union* is declared dead on page 102, only to be revived on page 178 as the "International Workers of the World." The persistent use of "suffragette," coined as a term of derision, for supporters of votes and rights for women is disturbing. Other errors in spelling, grammar and history are annoying but nothing that line editing the next edition couldn't fix and no reason not to recommend Gail's book to any school or student seriously interested in the role of work and labor in society, past or present.

— John Gorman

IWW History

The Centralia Tragedy of 1919: Elmer Smith and the Wobblies by Tom Copeland. \$17.50.

Fellow Worker: The Life of Fred Thompson. Edited by D. Roediger. Autobiographical reflections and philosophy from a veteran Wobbly who bridged the generations. \$10

The Great Bisbee Deportation of July 12, 1917 compiled by Rob Hanson. \$2.50

Solidarity Forever—An oral history of the IWW. Steward Bird, Dan Georgakas & Deborah Shaffer, eds. A compilation of interviews with former and veteran Wobblies. Badly transcribed, but interesting reading. \$11

Memoirs of a Wobbly. by Henry McGuckin. A rambling Wobbly organizer of the 1910s tells how they hoboed, organized and lived. Free speech fights and “fanning the flames of discontent.” \$5

Rebel Girl, the autobiography of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. \$9.95.

Direct Action & Sabotage Three classic IWW pamphlets by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Walker C. Smith and Wm. Trautman, showing how these age-old practices can be integrated into the struggle for industrial freedom. \$15

World Industrial Unionism

International Industrial Unionism by Arthur J. Miller. Tacoma: Working People’s Library (available through IWW Literature Department), 1998. 60 pages, \$3.50.

Since Fred Thompson’s pamphlet “World Labor Needs A Union” went out of print several years ago, there has been a desperate need for an updated pamphlet that addresses this economy in which corporations rampage across the entire planet in search of their prey, and showing how international industrial unionism offers workers a way not only to resist this assault but to place the economy under workers’ control and thereby put an end to these attacks once and for all.

Despite the promising title, however, that is not the pamphlet that Arthur Miller has written. Rather, this pamphlet begins by noting the desperation and hopelessness many workers experience in this bosses’ economy, notes that despite technological “progress” many workers are in fact worse off, critiques business unionism, and discusses the myriad ways the bosses set out to divide us (by race, sex, skill level, legal status, nationality, etc.). The answer, of course, is for workers to unite through international industrial unionism to confront the bosses’ global resources with our own organized power, and to that end FW Miller offers a brief overview of the IWW structure and discusses some tactics workers might find effective.

This is, to my mind, a bit much to tackle in a single pamphlet, and the result is an overview that may be somewhat more than the casual inquirer is prepared to take on but lacks sufficient depth to inspire those already committed to the struggle to build a new society.

— Jon Bekken

T-SHIRTS

Sabocat Red & Black, Large & Extra-Large, union-made. \$12 members. East Bay IWW, 2022 Blake Street, Berkeley CA 94704

Film Workers (worker stepping over Hollywood sign), One Big Union \$10 Red shirts, black print. Button: Don't Whine – Organize Film Workers Organizing Committee IU 630. \$1. Los Angeles GMB, 1748 Clinton St., LA CA 90026. Ask for list of books about the IWW. 213-353-9885.

Available from IWW Branches

IWW “Wings” 3” wide bullion pin, IWW Globe between sabots. \$10. 8” globe \$30. R. Sharif, POB 18637, Baltimore MD 21216.

Guinea Pig Zero, a Wobbly zine for human research subjects. Sample \$3, PO Box 42531, Philadelphia PA 19101

British Isles – Songbook £4; IWW literature available from 75 Humberstone Gate, Leicester LE1 1WB. Bread & Roses #3 £1 from IWW, PO Box 12665, Edinburgh EH3 9YA

Books for Rebel Workers

One Big Union. by IWW. The basic introduction to the structure and methods of the Industrial Workers of the World. \$2

The General Strike. Ralph Chaplin’s musical version of the IWW Preamble notes “without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.” He develops that idea in this essay. \$2

Labor Law for the Rank & Filer. by Staughton Lynd. Revised and updated, this classic self-help manual is subtitled: “building solidarity while staying clear of the law.” \$10

IWW Organizing Manual (2nd Ed) A guide to building the IWW on the job. \$5

Bread & Roses, \$2 British IWW magazine

A New Union Vision Arthur J. Miller reflects on the need for revolutionary unions today. \$2

International Industrial Unionism by Arthur J. Miller This new pamphlet examines the ways the employing class attempts to divide us as a class and calls for One Big Union solidarity. \$3.50

IWW Little Red Songbook (36th ed.) 103 labor songs from around the world, with music. Includes classics and new songs by Billy Bragg, Anne Feeney, Charlie King, Utah Phillips, etc. \$10

1923 IWW Songbook Facsimile reprint of IWW Songs, \$5

Rebel Voices. IWW Songs sung by IU 630 Wobs. Tape \$10.

We Have Fed You All for 1,000 Years. Utah Phillips sings IWW songs. Tape \$10.

Baseball caps \$9 Black globe on red cap, adjustable sizing.

IWW Buttons **Fire Your Boss! \$1.**

Black Cat/Direct Action, \$1.

IWW Globe circled by motto: “Labor is Entitled to All it Creates.” Black & Red, \$1.50.

Greeting Cards The cat knocking over the xmas tree \$5/ dozen. Also a Christmas card designed by Joe Hill, 4 color, glossy cover, \$10/ dozen. Merry Commodity Fetishism (tree crashes tv screen) \$5/ dozen.

Posters by Carlos Cortez Lucy Parsons, Ben Fletcher, Joe Hill or Mother Jones. \$25

Silent Agitators

10 designs to a sheet. 50 cents a sheet, minimum order 4 sheets. Wet and stick.

Bumperstickers

Nine bumperstickers, each with IWW Globe on left. Slogans: Solidarity Forever, One Big Union, Profit is Theft, Nothing Works Without Clerks, Stop World Hunger – Eat the Rich, Because Capitalism Cannot Be Reformed, An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!, Don’t Mourn Organize, Labor is Entitled to All It Creates. Black on durable white stock, \$1.25 each, post-paid.

Radical Thought

The Case of Leonard Peltier by Arthur J Miller & Pio Celestino. An introduction to Peltier’s frame-up for his political activities. \$3

Fields, Factories & Workshops by Peter Kropotkin. A classic vision of how we could redirect production to meet human needs, with a new introduction by Yaacov Oved. \$7.50

Communiques of the EZLN An anthology of communiques from 1996. “All those who work the land ... we invite to stand on our side.” \$3.

Zapatistas in their own words A 24-page pamphlet. \$3.

The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen by Raphael Ezekiel \$10

The Muckrakers by Louis Filler Their vivid exposes of political corruption, industrial brutality, and social injustice sparked a surge of reform. \$10

The Story of Mary MacLane A vigorous early feminist attack on conformity and puritanism. \$15

The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s by Susan Hartmann The 1940s held “the seeds of change which worked a deeper transformation in women’s consciousness, aspirations, and opportunities...” \$6.50

Reconstructing Babylon: Essays on Women and Technology Calls on women to resist the biomedical and reproductive technologies that increasingly encumber their lives. \$7

War Against the Greens: the “Wise-Use” Movement, the New Right, and Anti-Environmental Violence by David Helvarg \$15

Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983 by Lawrence S. Wittner \$10

Live From Death Row by Mumia Abu-Jamal, \$17.

Death Blossoms by Mumia More death row writings by America’s most famous political prisoner. \$12

A Little Working Class Sense by Gilbert Mers A veteran labor activist calls on workers to once again take up the struggle against capitalism. \$3

The World Bank: A tale of power, plunder & resistance by Alec Dubra & Mike Konopacki A comic book in lurid color. \$2.95

Behind the Silicon Curtain, The Seductions of Work in a Lonely Era. by Dennis Hayes. All the dirt and alienation of technomonad-“paradise,” \$6.

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Opposing NAFTA, International Opposition to NAFTA. Jason Justice, \$1

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Solidarity Unionism. by Staughton Lynd. Critical reading for all who care about the future of the labor movement. \$7

From the Ground Up, Essays on Grassroots & Workplace Democracy. by George Benello Essays by eminent libertarian philosopher with commentaries by others, \$6.

Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico. by Dan LaBotz. Rank & file insurgencies, maquiladoras and NAFTA all get attention. The need for world labor solidarity is inescapable. \$14

The Movement and the Sixties, Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee. Terry Anderson. \$15

New Arrivals

Queerly Classed. Susan Raffo, ed. An anthology of writings exploring the intersection of sexuality and class through poems and essays. \$17

Work and Labor by Judy Gail. An eclectic narrative weaving together stories and songs to create a kid-friendly history of work. \$25

1999 Labor History Calendar Our annual calendar, available Sept. 1. \$9

Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology edited by Joyce Kornbluh Stories, poems, songs and cartoons from the Wobbly press. Just reissued. \$26

Fellow Workers, Remember! At least 1,300 Wobblies were locked up under ‘espionage’ and ‘criminal syndicalism’ frame-ups between 1917 and 1920; this collection documents their plight and IWW efforts to fight the persecution. \$5

Red November Black November: Culture and Community in the IWW by Salvatore Salerno. Examines the interactions between the IWW and anarcho-syndicalism, with more attention than usual to the IWW’s foreign-language papers. \$20

Clearance

Power! by MacShane, Plaut & Ward. Black workers’ fight to improve everyday life and transform South Africa. \$8, now \$4

Break-Ins, Death Threats and the FBI, The Covert War Against the Central America Movement, list \$14, now \$6.

Work Hazards and Industrial Conflict, was \$10, now \$6

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Portland Comics Unite!

Stand-up comics in Portland, Oregon, recently organized into the IWW's Entertainment Workers Industrial Union 630, and has already negotiated two contracts while striking fear into the hearts of some unscrupulous booking agents.

Comics have attempted to organize inside and outside the AFL-CIO over the past 15 years, culminating in strikes in New York City and Los Angeles that improved wages and conditions, but did not result in permanent organization.

The Portland campaign began with a series of one-on-one meetings between a Wobbly comic with some organizing experience and some of the more experienced comics – especially those who have the respect of their peers. We began brainstorming what small steps toward mutual aid and collective bargaining would make a union real to Portland comics once it was clear that there was broad, if skeptical, support among the veteran comics.

Common grievances included declining pay for some out-of-town gigs, some comics getting charged to perform at open mics, and a general lack of paying gigs. Mutual aid suggestions included going in together on promotional materials and lining up better-paying gigs.

Comics called a meeting after an open mic to solidify initial support, with beer and pizza paid for by a Wobbly comic who books the shows. Several comics spoke in support of the union, and a petition designating the union their collective bargaining agent was circulated. Dave Anderson, one of Portland's premier headlining comics, was the first to sign; all 34 comics known to work stand-up in the area have now signed on.

One comic took the lead in organizing an all-new comedy showcase on Wednesday nights, with the door being split between the performers and the union (which promotes the shows). The shows have been a success, and a Thursday night show is being organized at a different pub.

The publicity has also led to bookings at local AFL-CIO events and appearances at movement events like End Corporate Domination. Comics are also negotiating with a casino to book comics at above industry standard wages. Exactly what "industry standard wages" are or ought to be has been a lively question among comics and at Comics' Union meetings.

One of the most interesting effects of the union has been to subtly encourage comics to perform more radical comedy, by

drawing audiences who most want to see radical material. Active involvement in the labor movement shouldn't hurt either. Comedy could become a lot more like soapboxing. There is also a greater sense of community, and increasingly an attitude of self-respect and rising expectations.

A few comics have begun to attend Portland General Membership Branch meetings in addition to informal union meetings before and after shows. Next steps should include recruiting key Seattle and San Francisco comics, as well as lining up more regular gigs to attract out-of-town interest.

Comics, like most workers, express strong reservations about strikes and other militant job action, but we are learning through small struggles that we can look out for each other and make a difference together. A little direct action has already put an end to one club's practice of charging working comics cover charges to perform at its open mic.

We have a long way to go, but already many comics refer to the IWW as "our union," not just "the union," which is a big step. If you'd like to help spread entertainment worker organizing to other towns, contact Bill Bradley (503/236-6948, bradley@millenium-cafe.com). We are especially interested in hearing from comics and people who want to book IWW comics into their college, club or union hall.

Singing Jailbirds

San Francisco Bay area IWW branches presented a new adaptation of Upton Sinclair's play "Singing Jailbirds" August 13.

The play is based on Sinclair's own experience in 1923, during a free speech fight in connection with the Marine Transport Workers strike in San Pedro, (southern) California. Sinclair was arrested and held in jail for the offense of having attempted to read aloud the Bill of Rights. He was charged with "discussing, arguing, orating and debating certain thoughts and theories (which were) detrimental and in opposition to the orderly conduct of affairs of business, affecting the rights of private property."

No publisher could summon up the courage to publish the play, so Sinclair published it himself. The play deals with the ruthless persecution of the IWW under California's Criminal Syndicalism Act, which was ruled unconstitutional in 1969.

"Singing Jailbirds" is an effective and rare example of American expressionistic drama. Act I opens with striking workers crowded into an airless jail cell (police later admitted that they had stopped prisoners' singing by shutting off all ventilation but denied turning on the steam heat). Act II explores the inner conflict and visions of a union organizer in solitary confinement. Woven throughout are the IWW songs that are still sung on picket lines today.

The IWW Constitution: District Councils

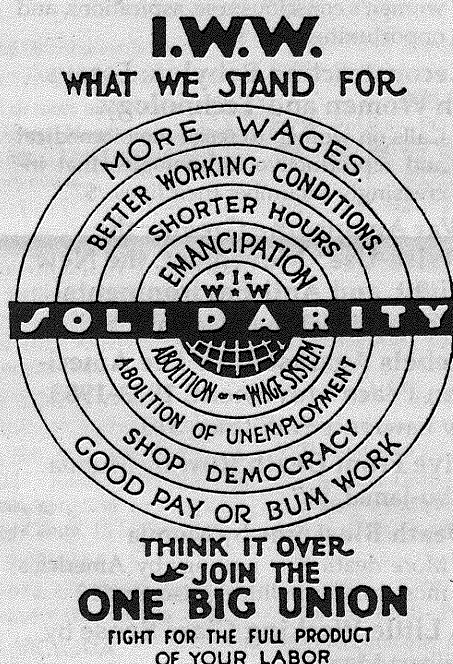
This is the third in a series of articles (based upon articles by Jon Bekken that originally ran in 1990) offering an overview of the IWW Constitution. While the IWW Preamble offers a concise statement of Wobbly philosophy – explaining the reasons why the Industrial Workers of the World was organized and the goal towards which we are working – the Constitution spells out the structure and workings of the organization.

Last issue we discussed the Industrial Union Branch, which brings together workers from local shops in the same industry to coordinate local organizing efforts and lend mutual assistance to IWW job branches. (The Industrial Union Branches also come together on an international basis to form Industrial Union administrations to coordinate efforts on a broader scale.)

But important as this sort of industrial cooperation is, it cannot meet the entire need for local coordination. Should the newspaper workers go on strike, they will want to call upon workers in several local industries for solidarity. Retail workers would be called upon to refuse to handle any scab newspapers, transport workers to refuse to bring newsprint and other supplies into the struck plant or to carry scab newspapers out, postal workers to refuse mail deliveries, office workers in various enterprises to cut off the flow of advertising revenue to the struck publisher, etc. Similarly, retail workers would call upon printing, transport and other workers for solidarity in their struggles -- quickly forcing recalcitrant employers to concede to workers' demands.

Such solidarity is rarely found among business unions these days, both because these have long since lost sight of the basic union principle that An Injury to One Is An Injury to All and because most unions sign contracts pledging to cross each other's picket lines and not to encroach upon "management rights," whatever those might be. The IWW Constitution prohibits contracts that would "obligate the members ... to do work that would aid in breaking any strike."

If particular industries remain unorganized, the IWW-organized workers in the area will need to launch organizing campaigns to bring these fellow workers into the One Big Union of the working class, recognizing that the conditions under which our



less-fortunate fellow workers labor will inevitably be used to hold us down as well, and that solid organization will ultimately be of benefit to all.

A campaign to defend union militants being railroaded to jail might be required. Local Wobblies might wish to launch a local newspaper or television program to discuss industrial concerns and other local issues, or carry out other educational programs aimed at securing the emancipation of our class. Of the fellow workers might just want to get together a few times a year for a picnic or dance.

The IWW Challenge...

continued from page 5

the cause of the working class through political parties have failed to secure anything but very minor gains, and those gains were more often than not lost over time.

Whereas, the business unions have compromised themselves to the point of no longer being effective organizations.

Whereas, the organized power of the employing class has increased greatly, and the organized power of the working class is decreasing.

Therefore, if these trends are to be reversed, working people need to reestablish the most advance working class concepts ever, those of the Industrial Workers of the World.

— Arthur J. Miller

Rather than address each of these needs on an *ad hoc* basis as they arise, the IWW Constitution provides for standing bodies to coordinate local IWW activity.

Where there are several Industrial Union Branches in a locality, these would join together in an Industrial District Council to facilitate united action and carry out educational and agitational activities. Otherwise, the Industrial Union Branches typically affiliate with the local General Membership Branch, which brings together all IWW members in an area who work in industries where a local Industrial Union Branch has not yet been organized.

The General Membership Branch

Often there are only a few IWW members in any one town, scattered across several industries. In this case a General Membership Branch is formed directly as soon as there are 10 members in good standing. A GMB might include Wobblies in a few Job Branches, and others who are the only Wobbly on their job. In such cases the GMB takes on many of the Industrial Union Branch functions until enough members are signed up in the various industries to form their own IU Branches.

General Membership Branches retain half of dues, just as Industrial Union

Branches do (making appropriate financial arrangements among themselves where membership overlaps) to support their local activities. These have ranged in recent years from organizing campaigns to educational programs to a job problems hotline. Where there are not enough members to establish a Branch, many of these functions are taken up by informal IWW groups – IWW members working together to build the organization in their area.

General Membership and Industrial Union Branches are local bodies, chartered only where the IWW's General Executive Board "finds it feasible for their members to meet together." If linguistic, transportation or other practical reasons require it, more than one General Membership Branch can be chartered in a city, in which case arrangements would need to be made for coordination. But no Branch can be chartered which covers so large an area that members will find it difficult to meet regularly and to participate fully in the life of the Branch.

The General Membership and Industrial Union Branches thus illustrate, on a local level, how the IWW proposes to organize all workers, throughout the world, into a single organization built along industrial lines.

*continues next issue:
Protecting Union Democracy*

Be a Wobbly – Join the IWW...

Real Democracy! All policy decisions are made by referendum. The IWW has just one (modestly) paid officer, the General Secretary-Treasurer. The 7-member General Executive Board is elected annually by the entire membership. All officers may be recalled by referendum. IWW workplaces and branches make their own decisions about bargaining and strategy.

To Join mail this form with a check or money order for initiation and first month's dues to IWW, 103 West Michigan Ave., Ypsilanti MI 48197, or contact your local delegate. **Dues:** Monthly income under \$1,000: \$5 per month; Income \$1,000-2,000: \$10 monthly; Over \$2,000: Dues \$15. Initiation Fee is same as one month's dues. A low-income worker can join for as little as \$10.00

- ☐ I affirm that I am a worker, and that I am not an employer.
- ☐ I agree to abide by the IWW constitution and regulations.
- ☐ I will study its principles and make myself acquainted with its purposes.

Name: _____ Occupation: _____

Address: _____ City: _____

State/Prov.: _____ Zip: _____ Phone: _____

Membership includes a subscription to the Industrial Worker